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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

VOYAGES,

TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

FROM THE

TIME OF COLUMBUS

TO THE

PRESENT PERIOD.

"Non apis inde tulit *collectos* sedula *flores*." *Ovid.*

By WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

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VIEW OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS, IN ITALY,

BY

JOHN MOORE, M.D.

IN our laſt volume, we took leave of our very agreeable traveller at Vienna, after paſſing through France, Switzerland, and Germany. We now reſume his narrative, and preſent our readers with his moſt ſtriking remarks on Italy.

Having quitted Vienna, they proceeded through the duchies of Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to Venice. Mountainous as theſe countries are, the roads are remarkably good, and formed of the moſt durable materials. Wood prevails on the mountains; and many valleys and fields are fit for paſturage, or the produce of grain.

The bowels of the earth are replete with metals and minerals. Stirian ſteel is in high repute; and the little town of Idra, in Carniola, is famous for the mines of quickſilver in its vicinity.

The inns are as bad as the roads are good; for which reaſon they travelled five days and nights

ſucceſſively, without ſtopping at any of them longer than was neceſſary to change horſes.

This mode of travelling was little favourable for giving Dr. Moore an opportunity of deſcribing the country or the manners of the inhabitants; accordingly, he does not attempt it.

Among other curioſities, which their expeditious movements prevented them from obſerving, was the town of Gratz, the capital of Stiria, which they paſſed in the night. Our author ſays, he regretted this the more, as here is the ſhrine of St. Allan, an Engliſhman, formerly a Dominican monk, in a convent of this town, and in high favour with the Virgin Mary, of which ſhe gave ſome extraordinary proofs.

Among other marks of her regard, it is ſaid ſhe uſed to comfort him with milk from her breaſts; and ſtrange as this legend may appear, they are not aſhamed to record it in an inſcription under a portrait of the ſaint, which is carefully preſerved in the Dominican convent.

They purſued their journey with the full reſolution of reaching Venice before they indulged in any other bed ſave the poſt chaiſe. However, they were unexpectedly detained at the ſmall town of Wipach, in Carniola, for want of horſes.

It ſeems the archduke and his ducheſs, on their return to Milan, had left Vienna eight days before our travellers; but by making a diverſion to Trieſte, all the poſt horſes had been aſſembled for their uſe; and our travellers, who thought themſelves clear from this interruption, were involved in its conſequences to a very unpleaſant degree.

It began to grow dark as they arrived, and the poſt-maſter was ſmoking his pipe at the door. As ſoon as the chaiſe ſtopped, they called out to him to get ready the horſes, without loſs of time, as they could not ſtay a moment. To this he coolly replied, that ſince they were in ſuch a great hurry, he did not wiſh to detain them, but that he had no horſes for their uſe. On being queſtioned when they could be procured, he replied, when they returned from attending the archduke; but when that would happen, he knew not.

Finding it impoſſible to get on, they reſolved to make a virtue of neceſſity, and ſtepping out of the carriage, ordered the poſt-maſter to get ready beds, a good ſupper, and ſome of his beſt wine. Inſtead of receiving theſe orders with reſpect, he anſwered, that he had no wine but for his own drinking; that he never gave ſuppers to any but his own family; and that he had no bed except for himſelf, his wife, and his child, and which could not eaſily hold more than three at a time.

They now perceived that this cavalier gentleman did not keep an inn, and with ſome ſlight apology for the miſtake, begged he would direct them to one. He pointed with his pipe to a ſmall houſe oppoſite, where they found every room ſo full, that it was impoſſible to receive more company, and all the victuals conſumed.

In this dilemma they returned to the poſt-maſter, informing him of their bad ſucceſs, and begging to know how they were to diſpoſe of themſelves for the night. He replied, with ſtoical compoſure, that was more than he could tell;

and

and as the evening was cold, and it began to rain, he took his leave, and ſhut the door upon them.

In this forlorn condition, an Italian ſervant of the Duke of Hamilton's, who ſeldom wanted a reſource in times of difficulty, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, and repeating the Italian proverb, "A hundred hours of vexation will not pay one farthing of debt," led our author to a convent of monks, and having obtained admiſſion to the ſuperior, told him in a few words how they were ſituated.

The venerable father heard him with an air of benevolence; and, after ſome expreſſions of concern for the treatment they had met with, conducted them to a poor houſe, occupied by a widow and her children. The widow immediately offered the beſt entertainment in her power, and furniſhed them with a comfortable ſupper of ſour krout and ſallad. Her wine was good, and the beds excellent; in a word, they were perfectly reconciled to the widow's hovel and homely fare, and found that hardſhip or difficulty is ſometimes neceſſary to give a zeſt to enjoyment.

In the morning they underſtood that the poor woman had ſat up all night with her children, that they might be accommodated with beds. However, ſhe had no reaſon to repent her hoſpitality; and gratitude making her loud in her praiſes of our countrymen's generoſity, the tale came to the ears of the poſt-maſter, and induced him to make an effort to drag the chaiſes as far as Goritia.

This buſineſs was performed by three cart-horſes, ſome oxen, and occaſionally buffaloes. Of the latter they have a hardy, docile breed in this country, which are thought preferable to

horſes or oxen, for various purpoſes of agriculture.

When they arrived at Goritia, they found the inhabitants all in their holliday dreſſes, waiting with impatience for a ſight of the grand duke and ducheſs. Here their difficulties were renewed; but when their highneſſes arrived, they had the politeneſs to order that the Duke of Hamilton ſhould have what poſt horſes he wanted.

Their next poſt was within the confines of the Venetian ſtate, where they found orders to the ſame effect as in other places they had lately paſſed. The Italian ſervant, thinking it would ſave time to aſſume a new character, ordered horſes in the name of the grand duke, and was inſtantly obeyed; but his highneſs's butler and cook arriving ſoon after, told a different tale.

In conſequence couriers were diſpatched, one of whom overtook them, and charging them with impoſture, in the name of the magiſtrates, ordered the poſtillions to drive back. Some *ſtrong* arguments, however, ſilenced the courier, and forced the poſtillions to proceed.

They paſſed that night at Meſtre, five miles from Venice. Next morning they hired a boat, and ſoon landed in the middle of that delightful city. They took up their lodgings at an inn, on the ſide of the great canal*.

A few days after their arrival at Venice, they met the archduke and ducheſs at the houſe of the

* The late revolution in the republic of Venice has, perhaps, wholly altered the face of affairs there; nevertheleſs, a ſhort account of the hiſtory, government, and manners, of a ſtate which ſubſiſted for fourteen centuries, can never be unintereſting to the learned and inquiſitive.

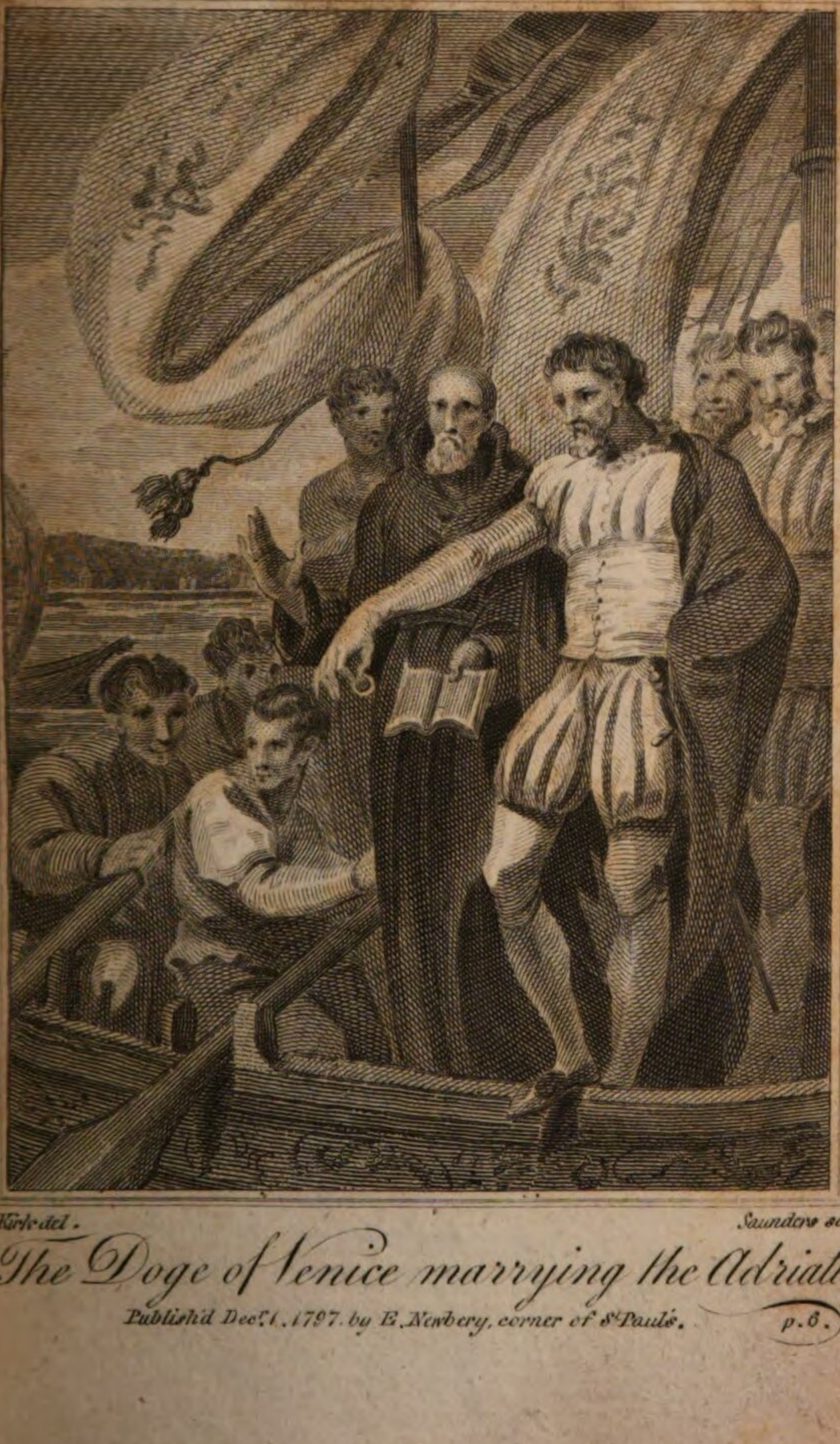
imperial ambaſſador, and entertained them with the adventure in which their cook and butler had a ſhare. The company conſiſted entirely of foreigners; none of the Venetian nobility ever viſiting the miniſters of other courts.

Next day the Duke of Hamilton, accompanied by the archduke and ducheſs, ſeveral Venetian ladies of the firſt diſtinction, and a deputation from the ſenate, viſited the arſenal. This fortification is between two and three miles in circumference, and has many little watch-towers on the ramparts, where ſentinels are ſtationed.

Here the Venetians build their ſhips, caſt their cannon, and make their cables. The arms are arranged in large rooms, divided into narrow walks by long walls of muſkets, pikes, and halberds.

After ſeeing a cannon caſt, the company were conducted on board the Bucentaur, or ſtate veſſel, in which the doge is carried to eſpouſe the Adriatic. It is finely gilt and ornamented within, and loaded on the outſide with emblematic figures in ſculpture.

The ceremony of marrying the Adriatic is performed every aſcenſion day. The morning is uſhered in by ringing of bells and firing of cannon. About noon, the doge, attended by a numerous party of the ſenate and the clergy, goes on board the Bucentaur, round which a number of ſplendid yachts and gondolas row, with bands of muſic, to St. Lido, a ſmall iſland about two miles from Venice. Prayers are then ſaid, after which the doge drops a ring into the ſea, with theſe words, "Deſponſamus te, Mare, in ſignum veri, perpetui que dominii."



Kirkpatrick. Saunders sc.

The Doge of Venice marrying the Adriatic.

Publish'd Dec.r 1. 1797. by E. Newbery, corner of St Paul's.

The ſea, like a modeſt bride, of courſe aſſents by ſilence, and the marriage is deemed valid and ſecure, to all intents and purpoſes.

After a view of every thing in the arſenal, the company were invited on board ſome boats, prepared for their reception. They were then rowed to that part of the lake which commands the moſt advantageous proſpect of Venice, accompanied by muſic. In fine, the amuſements of this day had all the advantage of novelty to ſtrangers, and every additional charm which attention and politeneſs could give.

Though this was not the ſeaſon of any of the public ſolemnities, which draw ſtrangers to Venice, yet the preſence of the archduke and ducheſs attracted numbers of the nobility to Venice, and gave our travellers an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral things to the beſt advantage.

They next viſited the iſle of Murano, about a mile from Venice. This was once a very flouriſhing place, and ſtill boaſts ſome palaces, which bear the marks of their former magnificence.

The great manufactories of glaſs, however, are the only inducement which ſtrangers have to viſit this place. They ſaw a very fine plate for a mirror blown in their preſence; and were aſtoniſhed at the dexterity of the workmen, and the ſucceſs of their practice.

This manufactory formerly ſerved all Europe with looking-glaſſes; and the quantity made here is ſtill very conſiderable, though the French and Engliſh have become powerful rivals, and withdrawn much of the original trade in this article from the Venetians.

They have not yet adopted the mode of caſting, which ſeems a much eaſier proceſs: the Murano mirrors are all blown like glaſs bottles.

Beſides large plates, an infinite quantity of glaſs trinkets, of all ſhapes and colours, are made here. Women of inferior rank wear them as ornaments and for roſaries; and various articles of decoration are moulded in glaſs for houſes and churches.

After the departure of the archduke and ducheſs, they ſpent their time principally at the houſes of the foreign ambaſſadors. They were once preſent at a converſatione, at the Spaniſh ambaſſador's, which might have paſſed for a pantomime. The ambaſſador, his lady, and daughters, ſpoke no language but Spaniſh, and none of the company underſtood that tongue, except a ſon of the Duke of Berwick.

Hearing that the celebrated Edward Wortley Montague, Eſq. reſided at Venice, they had the curioſity to wait upon him. He met them at the head of the ſtairs, and led them through ſome apartments, furniſhed in the Venetian ſtyle, into an inner room in the Turkiſh taſte.

Having deſired his viſiters to ſeat themſelves on a ſofa, he placed himſelf on a cuſhion on the floor, with his legs croſſed. A black ſlave ſat by him, and a venerable man, with a long beard, ſerved them with coffee.

After this collation, ſome aromatic gums were brought in, and burnt in a little ſilver veſſel. Mr. Montague held his noſe over it for ſome minutes, and ſnuffed up the perfume with peculiar delight; after which he endeavoured to collect the ſmoke with his hands, ſpreading and rubbing

it

it over his beard, which hung in hoary ringlets to his girdle.

They had much converſation with this eccentric man, whom they found to the laſt degree acute, communicative, and entertaining; blending the vivacity of a Frenchman with the gravity of a Turk.

His predilection for Turkiſh characters and manners was extreme. He deſcribed the Turks in general as people of great ſenſe and integrity, the moſt hoſpitable, generous, and happieſt of mankind. He talked of returning, as ſoon as poſſible to Egypt, which he painted as a perfect paradiſe.

Though Mr. Montague ſeldom ſtirred abroad, he had the politeneſs to return the Duke of Hamilton's viſit, and as they were not furniſhed with a cuſhion, he placed himſelf croſs-legged on the ſofa. This poſture, by long habit, was become moſt agreeable to him; and indeed, he ſeemed to cheriſh the ſame opinion with regard to all the cuſtoms which prevail among the Turks. He defended the practice of poligamy, and maintained, that not one Turk in a thouſand would go to the Chriſtian heaven, if he had it in his choice.

If the ſituation of Venice, wholly ſurrounded by water, renders it a curious object, it certainly does not add to the pleaſure of living in it. Here there are neither green fields to walk or ride in, the fragrance of herbs, nor the melody of birds; but when a perſon wiſhes to take the air, he muſt ſubmit to be paddled about in a boat, along dirty canals, or confine himſelf to walk in St. Mark's Place.

The lake, or ſhallow of the ſea, on which Venice ſtands, is a kind of ſmall inner gulph, ſepa-

rated from a larger one by ſome iſlands at a few miles diſtance. Theſe iſlands, in a great meaſure, break the force of the Adriatic ſtorms, before they reach the Laguna; yet ſtill, in very high winds, the navigation is dangerous to gondolas, and ſometimes the gondoleers do not truſt themſelves even on the canals in the city.

The number of inhabitants is computed at one hundred and fifty thouſand. The ſtreets in general are narrow; ſo are the canals, except the grand one, which ſerpentinizes through the middle of the city.

Several hundred bridges are to be ſeen in Venice; but, in general, they conſiſt of ſingle arches, and are mean enough. The Rialto, however, is of immenſe ſpan, and is conſtructed of marble. This celebrated arch is ninety feet wide on the level of the canal, and twenty-four high. Its beauty is impaired by two rows of booths, or ſhops, which divide its upper ſurface into three narrow ſtreets.

The view from the Rialto is equally lively and magnificent, including the grand canal, covered with boats and gondolas, and flanked on each ſide with magnificent palaces, churches and ſpires.

As the only agreeable view in Venice, is from the grand canal; ſo the only tolerable walking-place is the Piazza di St. Marco. This is a kind of irregular quadrangle, formed by a number of buildings, all ſingular in their kind, and very different from each other.

Among theſe, the ducal palace, the church of St. Mark, that of St. Giminiano, the muſeum, the public library, and ſeveral other edifices, all conſtructed of marble, claim particular notice.

There is an opening from St. Mark's place to the ſea, on which ſtand two lofty pillars of granite. Criminals, condemned to public puniſhment, ſuffer between theſe pillars; on the top of one of which is a lion with wings, and on the other, a ſaint.

At one corner of St. Mark's church, contiguous to the palace, are two ſtatues of Adam and Eve. Near a range of buildings, called the New Procuratie, ſtands the ſteeple of St. Mark, a quadrangular tower, about three hundred feet in height. It ſeems, this ſtate of diſunion between the church and ſteeple is not uncommon in Italy, though ſome think they ſhould be as inſeparable as a man and his wife.

A few paces from the church are three tall poles, on which enſigns are raiſed on days of public rejoicing. Theſe ſtandards are in memory of the three kingdoms of Cyprus, Candia, and Negropont, which once belonged to the republic, the three crowns of which are ſtill kept in the ducal palace.

At the bottom of the tower of St. Mark is a ſmall neat marble building, called the Loggietta, where ſome of the procurators of St. Mark conſtantly attend to do buſineſs.

The patriarchal church of St. Mark is of mixed architecture, though principally Gothic. It is, unqueſtionably, one of the richeſt and moſt expenſive in the world; yet our author ſays it does not much ſtrike the eye at firſt. The pillars are all of marble, and the outſide, inſide, ceiling, and paving, are all of the ſame coſtly material. The whole is crowned by five domes; and the front has five braſs gates, with hiſtorical baſs reliefs. Over the grand gate are placed the four famous bronze

bronze horſes, ſaid to be the workmanſhip of Lycippus. They were given to the emperor Nero by Tiridates, king of Armenia. Nero placed them on the triumphal arch conſecrated to him; they were afterwards removed to the Hippodronel of Conſtantinople, and when that city was taken by the French and Venetians, in the thirteenth century, they were brought to Venice, and placed in their preſent ſituation.

The treaſury of St. Mark is extremely rich in jewels and relics. Among other articles, it contains eight pillars from Solomon's temple, a piece of the Virgin Mary's veil, ſome of her hair and milk; the knife uſed by our Saviour at the laſt ſupper, one of the nails of his croſs, and a few drops of his blood.

After theſe, it would be impertinent to enumerate the bones, and other relics of ſaints and martyrs, of which there is a plentiful ſhow; and ſtill more ſo, to make out an inventory of the temporal jewels kept here. One ſingular curioſity, however, deſerves mention: it is a picture of the Virgin by St. Luke, which proves that the evangeliſt was but a miſerable dauber, and that the pious Catholics ſometimes defame thoſe they mean to honour, by aſcribing ſuch ſilly performances to them.

The ducal palace is an immenſe building, wholly of marble. Beſides the apartments of the doge, it contains halls and chambers for the ſenate, and all the different councils and tribunals.

The principal ſtair-caſe is called the Giant's Stair, from two coloſſal ſtatues of Mars and Neptune, placed atop. They are of white marble, and ſculptured by Sanſovino, on purpoſe to repreſent the naval and military powers of this ſtate.

Under

Under the porticos, which lead to this ſtaircaſe, are the gaping mouths of lions, to receive anonymous letters and accuſations.

The ducal apartments are ornamented by the pencils of Titian, Paul Veroneſe, Tintoret, Palma, the Baſſans, and other painters. The Rape of Europa, and the Storming of Zara, by Paul Veroneſe, are highly eſteemed. Many of the ſubjects are taken from the hiſtory of Venice. Within the palace is a ſmall arſenal, which communicates with the hall of the great council. Here a great number of muſkets are kept, ready charged, with which the nobles may arm themſelves, on any ſudden emergency.

The lower gallery, or the piazza under the palace, is called the Broglio. In this the noble Venetians walk and converſe, and it is only here, or at council, that they aſſociate, leſt they ſhould give umbrage to the ſtate inquiſitors. Perſons of inferior rank ſeldom remain on the Broglio, when the place is occupied by the nobility.

Though St. Mark's place is the only morning lounge in this city, yet it is chiefly in the evening that it is filled. At that ſeaſon, in fine weather, there is an immenſe jumble of all ranks, profeſſions and nations aſſembled here; ſome in maſks, and ſome impudent enough to ſeek no diſguiſe.

When the piazza is illuminated, and the ſhops in the adjacent ſtreets lighted up, the whole has a brilliant effect; and as it is the cuſtom for the ladies, as well as the gentlemen, to frequent the caſſinos and coffee-houſes round, the place of St. Mark anſwers all the purpoſes of our Vauxhall, or Ranelagh.

Venice claims no importance from ancient hiſtory: it boaſts no connection with the Roman empire, and whatever its annals offer worthy of the attention of mankind, is independent of the prejudice which ſcholars feel for the Roman name.

The independence of Venice was founded on the firſt law of human nature, and the undoubted rights of man. About the middle of the fifth century, when Europe exhibited one continued ſcene of violence and bloodſhed, a hatred of tyranny and a love of liberty prompted the Veneti, and ſome few of their neighbours, to ſeek an aſylum from the fury of Attila, among the little iſlands and marſhes at the bottom of the Adriatic gulph.

Before this time, a few fiſhermen had erected their huts on one of theſe iſlands, called the Rialto. The city of Padua, with a view to draw commercial advantages from the eſtabliſhment, encouraged ſome of her inhabitants to ſettle there; and when Attila had taken and deſtroyed Aquileia, great numbers fled to Rialto, whoſe ſize being augmented, aſſumed the name of Venice, from the diſtrict that was the native place of the earlieſt refugees.

Such was the beginning of this celebrated republic, and though Padua at firſt ſeems to have claimed ſome juriſdiction over it, the Venetians ſpeedily threw off all dependence on this neighbouring ſtate.

The irruption of the Lombards into Italy, drove many new ſettlers to Venice; and the conquerors thought proper to leave this little ſtate at liberty, and even entered into treaties with it.

When

When Charlemagne overturned the dominion of the Lombards, and ſent their king a priſoner to France, the Venetian ſtate cultivated the friendſhip of that great monarch, and obtained a confirmation of all their treaties with the Lombards, by which, among other things, the limits between the two ſtates were aſcertained.

In the wars with the eaſtern empire, and in thoſe of more modern date, between France and Auſtria, the conſtant object of the Venetians was to avoid embroiling themſelves with either party; and when at length they began to excite the jealouſy of the other ſtates of Europe, they had acquired ſtrength and revenues ſufficient to reſiſt, or political influence to divert the ſtorm.

The republic of Venice, ſays Dr. Moore, in its various periods of increaſe, of meridian ſplendor, and of declenſion, has already exiſted for a longer time than any other of which hiſtory makes mention. The Venetians themſelves aſſert, that this duration is owing to the excellent materials of which their government has been compoſed, by which, they imagine, it has been brought to the greateſt poſſible degree of perfection.

At firſt it was purely democratical; but after the ſtate became in ſome meaſure rich and populous, a more vigorous conſtitution was found neceſſary, and Paul Luc Anafeſte was elected duke, or doge, in 697. This office has been continued to the preſent time, with partial interruptions and modifications. Several tribunals, however, have been added to balance his power; and ſuch is the jealouſy of this government, that all private intercourſe is of neceſſity ſuſpended, and one acts as a ſpy on another. The people do not even poſſeſs the ſhadow of power; a tyrannical ariſtocracy has

has uſurped the whole authority, and exerciſe it in a manner, which is more inimical to their own happineſs than that of the people.

No government, ſays Dr. Moore, was ever more punctual and impartial, than that of Venice, in the execution of the laws. This was thought eſſential to the very exiſtence of the ſtate; and to this conſideration, all reſpect for individuals, and all private feelings are ſacrificed. To execute law with all the rigour of juſtice, is conſidered as the chief virtue of a judge; and as there are caſes in which the ſterneſt heart may relent, the Venetians have taken care to appoint certain magiſtrates, whoſe ſole buſineſs it is to ſee that others perform their duty.

The punctual execution of the laws, certainly ought to be an object in every government; but caſes may occur in which ſome mitigation may be found conſiſtent with policy, as well as juſtice and humanity. The ſtern, the inflexible rigour of the Venetian laws, rather freeze with horror than excite admiration.

In the year 1400, when Antonio Venier was doge, his ſon having committed an offence, which evidently ſprung from mere juvenile levity, was condemned in a fine of one hundred ducats, and ordered to be impriſoned for a certain period.

While the youth was under his ſentence in priſon, he fell ſick, and petitioned to be removed to a purer air. The doge rejected his requeſt, declaring that the ſentence muſt be literally executed, and that his ſon muſt take the fortune of others. He was much beloved, and many applications were made in his favour. The father, however, was inexorable, and the ſon died in priſon. This man may gain the praiſe of

juſtice,

juſtice, but he loſes the far higher diſtinction of humanity: in ſhort, we can neither love the magiſtrate nor the man who could lead to ſuch a cataſtrophe.

Carlo Zeno was accuſed by the council of ten, of having received a ſum of money from the ſon of the ſeignior of Padua, contrary to an expreſs law, which forbids all ſubjects of Venice from accepting any ſalary, penſion, or gratification from a foreign prince or ſtate.

This accuſation was grounded on a vague ſtatement, found in a written document; when Padua was taken by the Venetians, Carlo Zeno maintained, in his defence, that when he was governor of the Milaneſe, he had viſited the perſon, with whom he was ſaid to be connected, in priſon, and finding him in want of common neceſſaries, had advanced four hundred ducats for his relief, which he admitted had been afterwards repaid.

Zeno was a man of unimpeached veracity, and of the higheſt reputation: he had commanded the fleets and armies of the ſtate, with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs; but no conſideration could divert the court from its uſual ſeverity. They owned, that, from Zeno's uſual integrity, there was no reaſon to doubt the truth of his declaration; but that the aſſertions of an accuſed perſon were not ſufficient to efface the force of the preſumptive evidence that appeared againſt him; and that it was of more importance to the ſtate, to intimidate, even from the appearance of ſuch a crime, than to ſuffer a perſon, againſt whom a preſumption of guilt remained, to eſcape, however innocent.

The merits, the ſervices of Zeno were forgot: he was removed from all his offices, and ſentenced to an impriſonment of two years.

Numerous other inſtances, and ſome ſtill more affecting, of the odious inflexibility of the Venetian courts, might be produced. Mercy, indeed, is little known here. The ſtory of Foſcari, ſon of the doge of that name, harrows up the very ſoul. He was taken up on ſuſpicion of having aſſaſſinated one of the council of ten. As it was impoſſible for him to prove that he had no concern in the murder, or for his accuſers to ſubſtantiate his guilt, he was condemned to baniſhment in Candia. The ſoul of Foſcari was formed for friendſhip, and the reciprocal endearments of ſocial life; he importuned his family and friends, for five years, to intercede for his return to his country. At laſt, deſpairing of their interpoſition, he addreſſed a letter to the Duke of Milan, requeſting his powerful aſſiſtance, well knowing that the bearer would carry it to the council of ten, and that the conſequence would be a recal to a new trial.

By a law of Venice, every ſubject is forbid claiming the protection of foreign princes, in any thing relative to the government of Venice. Foſcari, when put upon his trial, avowed that he had long been languiſhing for a ſight of his relations; and that he had taken this ſtep, ſolely with a view of obtaining that happineſs.

His judges made no allowance for his feelings, or thoſe of his family. He was condemned to be carried back to Candia, to be impriſoned for a year, and to remain baniſhed to that iſland for life. Before he was ſent again on ſhip board, his wretched father and mother had an interview

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with him in the ducal palace. The father had held the office of doge above thirty years, and was in extreme old age. When conjured by his ſon, by every tie on heaven or earth, to uſe his influence with the council to procure a mitigation of his ſentence, that he might not die the moſt cruel of all deaths, under the ſlow tortures of a broken heart, at a diſtance from all he loved; the father had courage to reply, "My ſon, ſubmit to the laws of your country, and do not aſk of me what is not in my power to obtain." He could ſupport himſelf no longer. He tore himſelf from his ſon, and fell into inſenſibility. What his mother felt has never been deſcribed, becauſe no words can paint the anguiſh of ſuch a ſeparation.

The accumulated miſery of thoſe unhappy parents, touched the hearts of ſome of the moſt powerful ſenators; and young Foſcari was on the point of obtaining a plenary pardon, when the melancholy news of his having died in priſon, ſoon after his return, reached his native city.

Some years after, a noble Venetian, in the agonies of death, confeſſed that he had committed the murder for which the unhappy family of Foſcari had ſuffered ſo much. The doge ſoon after breathed his laſt; but he had the ſatisfaction to leave the world with the pleaſing idea that the innocence of his ſon was made manifeſt to the world.

"The ways of heaven," ſays Dr. Moore, "never appeared more dark and intricate than in the incidents and cataſtrophe of this mournful ſtory. To reconcile the permiſſion of ſuch events to our ideas of infinite power and goodneſs, however difficult, is a natural attempt in the human mind, and has exerciſed the ingenuity of philoſophers in

all ages; while in the eyes of the true Chriſtian, thoſe ſeeming perplexities afford an additional proof, that there will be a future ſtate, in which the ways of God to man will be fully juſtified."

Conſidering the ſize of Venice, it ſeems extraordinary that there ſhould be eight or nine theatres, including the opera houſes. A ſmall ſum is paid at the door, which entitles one to go into the pit, where he may look about and determine what part of the houſe he chuſes to ſit in.

There are rows of chairs placed in the front of the pit, with ſeats locked up to the back. Thoſe who chuſe to occupy them, pay a trifle more, and they are immediately unlocked. The back part of the pit is filled with footmen and gondoleers, in their common dreſſes.

The nobility and principal citizens have boxes retained by the year; but ſtrangers are never at a loſs. The price of admittance varies according to the ſeaſon of the year, and the piece to be performed.

Many of the boxes are ſo dark, that the faces of the company can hardly be diſtinguiſhed in them at a little diſtance, even when they do not wear maſks. The ſtage, however, is ſo well illuminated, that people in the boxes can ſee perfectly every thing tranſacted there. Between the acts, the company walk about, particularly the ladies with their Cavalieri Serventes. As they are maſked, they do not ſcruple to reconnoitre the company with their ſpying glaſſes.

The muſic of the opera is here reckoned very fine. The dramatic and poetical parts of thoſe pieces are little regarded; and the poet is no farther valued than as he makes his words a vehicle for the muſic. The celebrated Metaſtaſio, how-

ever,

ever, has disdained to sink himself so low. He has preserved the alliance which ought always to subsist between sense and sound.

"The music of the serious opera," says our traveller, "is infinitely too fine for my ear: to my shame, I must confess that it requires a considerable effort for me to sit till the end.

"It is surely happy for a man to have a real sensibility for fine music, because he has a source of delight which many do not possess. It is, however, silly and absurd to affect a pleasure in things which nature has not framed us to enjoy; yet, how often do we see people doing painful penance, and expressing raptures, while they cannot conceal their yawnings. This is taking trouble to render one's self ridiculous; and it is matter of real curiosity to observe, in how many various shapes affectation shews itself among mankind."

At the comic opera, our author informs us, that he has frequently seen the action alone excite the highest applause, independent of either poetry or music. He saw a duo performed by an old man and a young woman, supposed to be his daughter, in such a humorous manner, as drew an universal encora from the spectators. The merit of the musical part of the composition was very small; and as for the sentiment, it was as trite as possible; but expressed in a manner that rendered it highly ludicrous.

The dancing is an essential part of the opera every where; and there is certainly a greater proportion of mankind deaf to the charms of fine music, than blind to the beauties of fine dancing. During the singing and the recitative part of the performance, the singers are often allowed to warble for a considerable time without attracting

notice; but no ſooner does the ballet begin, than the eyes of all the ſpectators are fixed on the ſtage.

Dr. Moore ſays he had been long taught to conſider the Italian comedy as the moſt deſpicable ſtuff in the world, which could neither amuſe nor draw a ſmile from any perſon of taſte, being deſtitute of true humour, full of ribaldry, and only fit for the loweſt vulgar. Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, and eager to give the Duke of Hamilton a proof of their juſtice, they went, early after their arrival, to one of the play-houſes at Venice.

The piece was a comedy, and the moſt entertaining character was a ſtutterer. Diſguſted at ſuch a pitiful ſubſtitution for wit and humour, he expreſſed a contempt for an audience which could be entertained by ſuch buffoonery, and who could take pleaſure in ſeeing a natural infirmity ridiculed.

While they were thus indulging ſentiments of ſelf approbation, at the refinement and ſuperiority of their own taſte, the ſtutterer was giving a piece of information to Harlequin, which greatly intereſted him, and to which he liſtened with the moſt attentive eagerneſs. This unfortunate ſpeaker had arrived at the moſt important part of his narrative, which was to acquaint the patient liſtener where his miſtreſs was concealed, when he unluckily ſtumbled on a ſeſquipedalian word, which completely obſtructed the progreſs of his narration. He attempted it again and again without ſucceſs. Harlequin preſented his friend with a dozen words which might have expreſſed his meaning; but the ſtammerer rejected them with diſdain. At length, making a deſperate effort, he ſeemed quite choked: he gaped, he panted,

panted and croaked; his face flushed, and his eyes seemed ready to burst from his head.

Harlequin unbuttoned his friend's waistcoat and the neck of his shirt, fanned his face with his cap, and applied a smelling bottle to his nose. At length, fearing his patient would expire before he could give the wished-for intelligence, in a fit of despair, he pitched his head full in the dying man's stomach, and the word bolted out of his mouth, to the most distant parts of the house.

This was performed with such humorous absurdity, that our author, as well as his companions, could refrain no longer. An excessive fit of laughter shook the play-house; and the Duke of Hamilton asked his mentor, if he was as much convinced as ever, that a man must be perfectly devoid of taste, who would condescend to laugh at an Italian comedy?

To superficial politicians it may appear matter of surprise, that a government, so very jealous of power as that of Venice, should have no military establishment, within the walls, to support the executive, and repress any popular commotion; but, upon due reflection, it is evident, that this very jealousy prevents the establishment of a military garrison. The doge would not be trusted with the command; the state inquisitors are too frequently changing, to be able to gain the affections of the soldiery; and, perhaps, it might not be difficult for a few rich and powerful nobles to corrupt the soldiery, and throw the state into confusion.

But though there is no formal garrison in military uniform, there is a real effective force, sufficient to suppress any popular commotion, at the command of the senate and the council of ten.

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This force, exclusive of the sbirri, consists of a number of stout fellows, who, without any distinguishing dress, are kept in the pay of government. There is also the whole band of gondoleers, the most hardy and daring race of men in the state. This body is much attached to the nobility, from whom they have most of their employment; many are in the service of particular nobles, and, it is probable, they would side with their masters, on any emergency that required their services.

There is, unquestionably, much finesse and contrivance in the formation of the political constitution of Venice*; but our author thinks, it would have been more admirable, if the council of ten and the state inquisitors had never formed any part of it. In some respects, this system is worse than the fixed and permanent tyranny of one person; for that person's character and maxims would be known, and by endeavouring to conform to his way of thinking, people might have some chance of living unmolested; whereas, according to this plan, they have a freethinker for their tyrant to-day, and a bigot to-morrow. Thus an universal fear and jealousy must prevail; and precautions will be used to avoid the suspicions of government, unknown in any other country.

The Venetians neither associate with foreign ambassadors, nor with foreigners of any kind. It is even dangerous for a man of rank to possess too much the love and confidence of his own coun-

* These speculations are now become obsolete; for, whatever Venice may become, there is little reason to apprehend it will return to its former government.

trymen.

trymen. This would infallibly exclude him from any ſhare in the government, at leaſt, from the high offices appertaining to it. Even eccleſiaſtics are excluded from any place in the ſenate, or from holding any civil office; nor are they permitted to meddle directly, or indirectly, in ſtate affairs. Moſt of the benefices are filled up by the doge and ſenate.

Notwithſtanding the deſpotiſm of the various courts, the citizens live in comfort, and have frequently the means of procuring independence. Private property is no where better ſecured than at Venice; and her commerce is ſtill very conſiderable, though the defalcations in this reſpect are immenſe.

The manufactories here employ all the induſtrious poor, and prevent that ſqualid beggary and diſhoneſty, ſo common in other ſtates of Europe. The ſubjects on the Terra Firma are by no means oppreſſed, nor are the podeſtas allowed to abuſe their delegated powers.

But, ſays Dr. Moore, though jealouſy is ſtill the predominant principle in the ſtate, that gloomy demon is now entirely baniſhed from the boſoms of individuals. Inſtead of the confinement in which women were formerly kept at Venice, they now enjoy a degree of freedom unknown at Paris.

The huſbands ſeem, at laſt, to have adopted the wiſe maxim, that the chaſtity of their wives is ſafeſt under their own guardianſhip; and that when a woman thinks her honour not worth her own regard, it is ſtill more unworthy of his. This advantage, as well as many others, muſt ariſe from the preſent ſyſtem; that when a huſband believes his wife faithfully adheres to her conjugal

engagement,

engagement, he has the additional ſatisfaction of knowing that ſhe acts from perſonal love, or the love of virtue; whereas, formerly, a Venetian could not be certain but that his wife's chaſtity was owing to ſpies, bolts, and padlocks.

The wretched plan of diſtruſt and confinement has a ſtrong tendency to debaſe the minds of both huſband and wife; and of all the humble employments that ever the wretched ſons of Adam ſubmitted to, ſurely that of watching each other is the moſt perfectly humiliating.

Along with jealouſy, poiſon and the ſtiletto have been baniſhed from Venetian gallantry, and the maſk is ſubſtituted in their place. This, it ſeems, is a more innocent diſguiſe than is generally imagined. It is more frequently uſed as an apology for an undreſs, than with any intention to conceal the perſon who wears it. With a maſk ſtuck in his hat, and a kind of black mantle, trimmed with lace of the ſame colour, over the ſhoulders, a man is ſufficiently dreſſed for any aſſembly in Venice.

Thoſe who walk the ſtreets with maſks, actually covering their faces, are either engaged in ſome amour, or wiſh to have it ſo believed; for, it ſeems, there is an affectation even in this reſpect.

The little apartments, near St. Mark's Place, called Caſſino's, have long had the misfortune to labour under a bad reputation, and many tales of the profligacy of Venetian manners have been deviſed, from the appearances which are here exhibited; but our author thinks, that there is more invention than truth in what is reported reſpecting theſe places of faſhionable reſort, and

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he is certain, that the Venetians themſelves do not credit the ſtories which foreigners propagate to their prejudice.

The opening before St. Mark's church, being the only place where a great number of people can aſſemble, it is the faſhion to walk here a great part of the evening, to enjoy the muſic and other amuſements; and though there are public coffee-houſes, and the Venetian manners permit ladies, as well as gentlemen, to frequent them, it is natural to conclude, that the noble and more wealthy prefer little apartments of their own, where, being leſs expoſed to intruſion, they may enjoy the pleaſures of converſation, and entertain a few perſons in a more eaſy and unceremonious manner than they could at their own houſes. Inſtead, therefore, of going home to a formal ſupper, and afterwards returning to this ſcene of amuſement, they order refreſhments to be carried to the Caſſino.

Some writers, who aſſert that the Venetians are more profligate than other nations, at the ſame time maintain, that government encourages this profligacy, to relax and diſſipate the minds of the people, in order to prevent them from concerning themſelves about the affairs of ſtate. This, if true, would be an extraordinary piece of refinement; but it is probably only imaginary. That the Venetians are more ſenſual than the inhabitants of ſeveral other capitals, would, perhaps, be difficult to prove; but as the ſtate inquiſitors never concern themſelves with affairs of gallantry, and the eccleſiaſtical are not allowed to interfere; as the people often wear maſks, and an immenſe concourſe of ſtrangers, are here aſſembled twice or thrice a year, the idea of con-

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cealment and intrigue has contributed greatly to give ſome people an impreſſion of Venetian impurity.

"Were I to form an idea of the Venetians from what I have ſeen," ſays Dr. Moore, "I ſhould paint them as a lively, ingenious people, extravagantly fond of public amuſements, with an uncommon reliſh for humour; and yet more attached to the real enjoyments of life than to thoſe which depend on oſtentation, and proceed from vanity.

"The common people diſplay ſome qualities which do them honour: they are remarkably ſober, obliging to ſtrangers, and gentle in their intercourſe with each other. They are generally tall and well made, though leſs corpulent than the Germans. Their complexions are of a ruddy brown, with dark eyes. The women poſſeſs a fine ſtyle of countenance, with expreſſive features, and a ſkin of rich carnation. They dreſs their hair in a fanciful and becoming manner. In their addreſs they are eaſy, and have no averſion to cultivate an acquaintance with thoſe ſtrangers who have been properly recommended to them.

"In fact, ſtrangers ſeem to be under leſs reſtraint here than the natives; and many, who have tried all the capitals of Europe, have given the preference to Venice, on account of the variety of amuſements, the gentle manners of the inhabitants, and the perfect freedom allowed in every thing, unconnected with the meaſures of government. When a ſtranger is guilty of any imprudence of this kind, he receives a meſſage to quit the territories of the ſtate, or one of the ſbirri is ſent to conduct him into the dominions of ſome neighbouring potentate.

"The houſes here ſeem well adapted to the Italian climate. The floors are of a kind of red plaſter, with a brilliant gloſſy ſurface, much more beautiful than wood, and far preferable, in caſe of fire. The principal apartments are on the ſecond floor. The firſt is generally devoted to lumber, as being liable to damps from the canals; and beſides, the ſecond is better lighted, and more cheerful, which renders it the moſt deſirable for reſidence."

Our travellers were detained longer at Venice than they intended, by exceſſive falls of rain, which rendered the road to Verona impaſſable. Relinquiſhing, therefore, the thoughts of viſiting that city for the preſent, they determined to proceed to Ferrara by water.

Having croſſed the Lagune, they entered the Brenta, but could purſue their route no farther by water than the village of Doglio, on account of a bridge which would not admit the barge. They, therefore, got into open chaiſes, and continued their journey along the banks of the Brenta to Padua.

Both ſides of this river diſplay gay, luxuriant ſcenes of magnificence and fertility, being ornamented with a variety of beautiful villas, the deſigns of Palladio and his diſciples. The Venetian nobility, when at their country ſeats, it is ſaid, entertain their friends with more freedom than at their palaces in town. It is, therefore, natural to ſuppoſe that they find themſelves more happy, as being more remote from ſuſpicion; and that they embrace, with pleaſure, every opportunity of enjoying the charms of the country, and the ſweets of liberty.

As one principal object of their journey to Padua, was to pay their reſpects to the Duke of Glouceſter, they waited on that prince ſoon after their arrival. His highneſs had been very ill at Venice; but had removed here for the benefit of the air, and felt its good effects.

Padua exhibits many ſymptoms of decay. The greateſt part of the circuit, within the walls, is unbuilt, and the population is ſo thin, that graſs, in many places, fills up the interſtices of the pavement. The houſes are built on porticos, which, in their original deſtination, may have had an air of magnificence; but now only increaſe the deepneſs of the gloom.

The Franciſcan church, dedicated to St. Antonio, the great patron of the city, contains the body of that holy perſon, incloſed in a ſarcophagus, under an altar, in the middle of the chapel. It is ſaid to emit a moſt agreeable flavour; but the heretics aſſert, that the cunning eccleſiaſtics rub the marble every morning with certain balſams, before the votaries come to pay their devotions.

Our author ſarcaſtically remarks, "that if this ſweet odour really proceeds from the holy Franciſcan, he emits a different ſmell from any of the brethren of that order, whom I had ever an opportunity of approaching."

The walls of this church are covered with votive offerings, conſiſting of repreſentations of almoſt every part of the human body, in gold or ſilver, in token of cures performed by the ſaint.

At a ſmall diſtance from the church is the ſchool of St. Antonio, in which many of his actions are painted in freſco; ſome of them by Titian. Many extraordinary miracles are recorded

of

of this ſaint, One in particular, Dr. Moore thinks, if often repeated, might endanger the peace of families. The ſaint thought proper to endow a new-born child with the faculty of ſpeech, when, with infantine impudence, it declared, in an audible voice, before a large company, who was its *real* father.

In ſhort, the miracles attributed to this celebrated ſaint exceed in number and belief. On one occaſion, when an impious Turk had placed fireworks under the chapel, with an intention to blow it up, they affirm, that St. Anthony hallooed three times from his marble coffin, which terrified the infidel, and diſcovered the plot. This miracle is the more miraculous, as the ſaint's tongue was cut out, and is actually preſerved in a cryſtal vaſe, and ſhewn as a precious relic.

From the tower of the Franciſcan church, they had a delightful view of the environs of Padua. All the diſtant objects ſeemed charming and flouriſhing; while every thing under their eyes, indicated wretchedneſs and decay.

The church of St. Juſtina, after the deſign of Palladio, is a moſt beautiful fabric. It is ſaid to have been built on the ſpot where that ſaint ſuffered martyrdom. In front of the church is a wide area, called the Prato della Valle, where booths and ſhops are erected for all kinds of merchandiſe during the fair. Part of this ſpace is never allowed to be profaned by traders, becauſe it is believed, that many Chriſtian martyrs ſuffered on the ſpot.

The ornaments of the church of St. Juſtina conſiſt of Moſaic work of marble, of various colours, and of pictures. In relics it is peculiarly rich; and the Benedictines, to whom it belongs,

aſſert, that they are in poſſeſſion of the bodies of the two evangeliſts, St. Matthew and St. Luke. The Franciſcans, belonging to a convent at Venice, conteſt the ſecond of theſe two great prizes, and the deciſion of the diſpute has been ſubmitted to the pope; but his holineſs, notwithſtanding his infallibility, has not been able to make either ſide withdraw their pretenſions.

The hall of the town-houſe of Padua is very large. Its length is about three hundred feet, and breadth one hundred. It is ornamented with buſts and ſtatues of eminent perſons. The cenotaph of Livy, who was a native of Padua, is erected here.

The univerſity, once ſo celebrated, is like every thing elſe in Padua, much on the decline. The theatre for anatomy is very large, but little frequented. The licentious ſpirit of the ſtudents, which formerly rendered it dangerous to walk in the ſtreets at night, is now entirely extinct. Their numbers being diminiſhed, exceſſes could no longer be committed without detection; beſides, moſt of the preſent ſtudents are deſigned for the prieſthood.

A cloth manufactory is eſtabliſhed in this city, and ſucceeds very well; but the immenſe number of beggars with which the place ſwarms, is a ſtrong proof, that trade and manufactures, in general, are by no means in a flouriſhing condition.

"In the whole courſe of my life," ſays Dr. Moore, "I never ſaw ſuch a number of beggars, at one time, as aſſailed us at the church of St. Antonio. The Duke of Hamilton gave all the money he had in his pocket to the clamorous multitude that ſurrounded him, on condition that they would hold their tongues and depart; but

but, on the contrary, they became more numerous and vociferous than before. Strangers, who viſit Padua, will do well, therefore, to obſerve the goſpel injunction, and perform their charities in ſecret."

The natives of Padua are extremely fond of tracing the origin of their city to Antenor; and, accordingly, an old ſarcophagus, with an unintelligible inſcription on it, being dug up in 1283, they declared it to be the tomb of that illuſtrious Trojan, and placed it in one of the ſtreets, ſurrounded with a baluſtrade, and a Latin inſcription, to identify their hypotheſis.

After a few days ſtay, they returned to Doglio, and viſited ſome of the villas on the banks of the Brenta. The apartments were gay and ſpacious, and well adapted for ſummer; but none of them ſeemed calculated even for an Italian winter.

Having embarked in their little veſſel, which they had left at Doglio, they entered a canal which communicates with the Po, and were drawn along at a pretty good rate by two horſes. The banks of this famous river are luxuriantly fertile, and they frequently amuſed themſelves with walking on this claſſical ground, keeping pace with their veſſel.

"It is not ſurpriſing, ſays Dr. Moore, that the Po is ſo much celebrated by the Roman poets, ſince it is unqueſtionably the fineſt river in Italy,

Where every ſtream in heavenly numbers flows.

It ſeems to have been the favourite river of Virgil, and he frequently alludes to it in his immortal verſe. Mr. Addiſon too, at ſight of this ſtream, is inſpired with a degree of enthuſiaſm, which does not always animate his poetry.

Fir'd with a thouſand raptures, I ſurvey
Eridanus through flow'ry meadows ſtray:
The king of floods! that, rolling o'er the plains,
The tow'ring Alps of half their moiſture drains,
And proudly ſwoln, with a whole winter's ſnows,
Diſtributes wealth and plenty where he flows.

Notwithſtanding all that the Latin poets, and, in imitation of them, thoſe of other nations, have ſung of the Po, I am convinced, ſays Dr. Moore, that no river in the world has been ſung ſo well as the Thames.

Thou too, great father of the Britiſh floods!
With joyful pride ſurvey'ſt our lofty woods;
Where towering oaks their growing honours rear,
And future navies on thy ſhores appear;
Not Neptune's ſelf from all her ſtreams receives
A wealthier tribute than to thine he gives.
No ſeas ſo rich, ſo gay no banks appear,
No lake ſo gentle, and no ſpring ſo clear:
Not Po ſo ſwells the fabling poet's lays,
While led along the ſkies his current ſtrays,
As thine, which viſits Windſor's famed abodes. POPE.

Denham too, and various other poets of eminence, have paid their tribute of praiſe to the nobleſt of Britiſh rivers, and to the richeſt river in the univerſe.

The magnificence of the ſtreets, and the number of fine buildings, ſhew that Ferrara has once been a flouriſhing and opulent city. The preſent inhabitants, however, bear every mark of poverty, and their number is ſmall in proportion to the extent of the town.

The duchy of Ferrara was formerly governed by its own dukes, and falling under a ſucceſſion of wiſe and benevolent princes, it became one of the happieſt and moſt flouriſhing ſpots in Italy.

In

In the year 1597, it was annexed to the papal ſee, and ever ſince has been gradually ſinking into poverty and decay. Nothing, however, but ſome eſſential error in government could render a place, which enjoys ſo many local advantages as this, either poor or pitiable.

The citizens ſtill retain an old privilege of wearing ſwords by their ſides. This right extends to the loweſt mechanics, who ſtrut about with great dignity; and as ſwords are ſo much in faſhion, ſo fencing is, by a natural conſequence, in high repute here.

Ferrara was formerly famous for a manufactory of ſword blades. The Scotch Highlanders, who were much attached to this weapon, and endeavoured to procure it in the utmoſt perfection, uſed to deal with a celebrated maker, named Andrew di Ferrara, and hence true tempered blades have obtained the general appellation among them of Andrew Ferraras.

In the Benedictine church here, Arioſto lies buried. The degree of importance, ſays Dr. Moore, in which men are held by their cotemporaries, and by poſterity, is very different. This fine fanciful bard has done more honour to modern Italy, than one in fifty of the popes and princes, to which ſhe has given birth; and while thoſe, who were the gaze of the multitude during their lives, are now entirely forgotten, his fame increaſes with the lapſe of time. In his life time, he probably derived importance, in the eyes of his countrymen, from the patronage of the houſe of Eſte; now he reflects a luſtre, in the eyes of all Europe, on the illuſtrious names of his patrons, and the country where he was born.

The

The emperor, and two of his brothers, had lately lodged at the ſame inn where our travellers put up. The landlord was ſo vain of this honour, that he could not be brought to converſe on any other ſubject; and he entertained them with a thouſand anecdotes of his royal viſiters. If aſked what they could have for ſupper, the landlord would reply, that they ſhould ſup in the ſame room in which his imperial majeſty dined. If they enquired when ſupper would be ready, he would anſwer, that the emperor preferred a fowl plain roaſted, and that the archduke was fond of fricaſſee.

To perpetuate the memory of this event, of the emperor and his brothers having dined at his houſe, the half-frantic landlord had put up a pompous inſcription over the door of his inn; and had, as far as was in his power, given a kind of immortality to thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, out of the profits of a dinner and a night's lodging.

They left Ferrara with ſix horſes to each chaiſe, on account of the badneſs of the roads. As they approached Bologna, the country gradually improved in cultivation, and, at laſt, became one continued garden.

The vineyards are not divided by hedges, but by rows of elms and mulberry trees, from which the vines hang in the moſt picturesque and beautiful manner. The ſoil is immenſely rich and fertile, and hence has juſtly acquired the name of Bologna the Fat.

The town is well built and populous; the number of inhabitants amounting to ſeventy thouſand and upwards. The houſes in general have lofty porticoes, a luxury in this warm climate.

The

The duchy of Bologna, which ſtill retains the name of a republic, and ſends an ambaſſador to the papal court, had ſeveral privileges granted to it, on ſubmitting to the holy ſee. The civil government and police of the town are allowed to remain in the hands of the magiſtrates, who are choſen by the ſenate, originally conſiſting of forty perſons; but ſince the republic came under the protection of the pope, of fifty.

The preſident of the ſenate is called the Gonfalonier, from his carrying the ſtandard. He has guards to attend him during the two months he is in office, when another ſenator ſucceeds him, and ſo on in rotation.

In the midſt of this affectation of independence, a cardinal legate, from Rome, governs Bologna, and the ſenate is a mere engine in his hands. His power continues for three years; and this is reckoned the moſt conſiderable dignity in the diſpoſal of the pope.

This eccleſiaſtical viceroy lives in great magnificence, and has numerous attendants and guards. Though his ſuperiority may be mortifying to the ſenators and nobles, yet the people have every appearance of living under a mild and beneficent government.

The inhabitants of Bologna carry on a conſiderable trade in ſilks and velvets. The country produces immenſe quantities of oil, wine, flax, and many rich hortulane productions. The common wine of the country is white and light, with an agreeable flavour.

Bologna contains many palaces, of which the Public is by far the moſt ſpacious, though not the moſt elegant. In this the cardinal legate is lodged. There are alſo apartments for the gonfalonier,

nier, and halls or chambers for ſome of the courts of juſtice. In this edifice are ſome celebrated productions of the pencil, particularly the Virgin and Infant, ſeated on a rain-bow; and Sampſon refreſhing himſelf with the water which iſſues from the jaw-bone, with which he had juſt defeated the Philiſtines, both by Guido.

One of the moſt ſuperb objects, however, in this town, is a noble marble fountain, in the area before the Palazzo Publico. The principal figure is a ſtatue of Neptune, eleven feet high, with one hand ſtretched out, and the other holding the trident. Round this are figures of boys, dolphins, and ſyrens, all in bronze, and of the moſt maſterly execution. The whole is the workmanſhip of Giovanni di Bologna, and is highly eſteemed.

The univerſity of Bologna is one of the moſt ancient and moſt celebrated ſeats of literature in Europe; and the academy for the arts and ſciences, founded by Count Marſigli, is, of itſelf, ſufficient to draw ſtrangers to this place. Over the gate of this magnificent edifice is the ſubſequent liberal inſcription;

BONONIENSE SCIENTIARUM ATQUE ARTIUM INSTITUTUM AD PUBLICUM TOTIUS ORBIS USUM *.

The library is large and valuable; and here, any perſon may ſtudy four hours daily. There are alſo apartments for the ſtudents of ſculpture, painting, architecture, chymiſtry, anatomy, aſtronomy, and every branch of natural philoſophy, with profeſſors, who regularly read their lectures.

* The Bononian Academy of Arts and Sciences, for the general Uſe of the whole World.

Honorary

Honorary premiums are diſtributed every year among the moſt ſucceſsful artiſts in painting, ſculpture, and architecture.

The anatomical theatre is adorned with ſtatues of celebrated phyſicians; and in the muſeum are abundance of anatomical preparations, and a complete ſuit of figures in wax. Our author, however, thinks the whole infinitely inferior to the noble muſeum of Dr. Hunter.

The church of St. Petronius is the largeſt in Bologna. On its pavement Caſſini drew his meridian line, and within the walls of this fame edifice Charles V. was crowned. A pious Catholic, however, values it more on account of the miracle performed here. A ſoldier being at play, and in danger of loſing his money, offered up a very fervent prayer to the Virgin for better luck; but as her ladyſhip was not in a humour to liſten to the ſupplications of a gambler, this furious wretch drew his ſword, and wounded both the Virgin and the child. He inſtantly fell motionleſs to the ground, and in this ſtate was carried to priſon, where he was ſpeedily condemned to an ignominious death. The ſincerity of his repentance ſoftened the Virgin, and ſhe reſtored him to the uſe of his limbs, on which the judges took the hint, and granted him a full pardon. As a confirmation of this memorable event, they ſhew the identical ſword with which the aſſault was made.

A Dominican convent, ſituated on the top of a hill, about three miles from this city, is in poſſeſſion of a portrait of the Virgin by St. Luke, which is ſaid to have wrought many miracles. How they came by this picture is little known, and it looks like hereſy to be aſking queſtions.

A curious gallery, open to the south, and closed by a wall to the north, is built all the way from this city to the convent. On the open side it is supported by a long row of pillars, and was erected by voluntary contribution, in honour of the Virgin, and for the conveniency of pilgrims. Along this colonnade, the holy picture is brought once a year to visit the city, attended by an immense concourse of people, carrying wax tapers, bells ringing, and cannon firing.

The palaces of the Bolognese nobility are furnished in a magnificent taste, and contain paintings of great value. The galleries and apartments are spacious and fine; but in exactness in finishing are far inferior to many English houses.

Next to Rome itself, perhaps no city in the world is so rich in paintings as Bologna. The churches and palaces, besides many admired pieces by other masters, are full of the works of the eminent painters who were natives of this place.

"It requires no knowledge in the art of painting, no connoisseurship," says Dr. Moore, "to discover the beauties of Guido: all who have eyes and a heart, must see and feel them. The most admired picture of this master is in the Sampieri palace, and is distinguished by a silk curtain hanging before it. The subject is the Repentance of St. Peter, and consists of two figures, that of the saint, who weeps, and a young apostle, who endeavours to comfort him."

The only picture at Bologna, which can dispute celebrity with this, is that of St. Cecilia, in the church of St.Georgio in Monte. This is highly praised by Addison, and is reckoned one of Raphael's capital performances. Dr. Moore, however, candidly confesses, that he could not dis-

ver its ſuperlative merit, and therefore excuſes himſelf from expatiating on an art in which he does not pretend to judgment.

In their way to Ancona, they paſſed through Ravenna, an unpleaſant town, though, at one time dignified with the ſeat of empire; for, when Attila left Italy, Valentinian preferred it to Rome for his reſidence, that he might be ready to repel the firſt inroads of the Huns, and other barbarians, who poured down the banks of the Danube.

For the ſame reaſon, Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths, kept his court here. The ruins of his palace and tomb now form part of the antiquities of Ravenna.

In their way they paſſed the river of Piſatello, the famous Rubicon, which lies between this town and Rimini, and was the ancient boundary between Italy and Ciſalpine Gaul. No Roman could paſs this in arms, without being deemed an enemy to his country. It is well known, however, that Cæſar paſſed it, and thus laid the foundation of the civil wars, which terminated in the deſtruction of the liberty of Rome.

Though Rimini is in a ſtate of great decay, there are ſome monuments of antiquity in it worthy of attention. It is the ancient Arminium, the firſt town that Cæſar took poſſeſſion of after paſſing the Rubicon. In the market-place is a kind of ſtone pedeſtal, with an inſcription, indicating, that on it Cæſar ſtood and harangued his army; but hiſtory gives no confirmation of this.

They next paſſed through Peſaro, a pleaſant town, with a handſome fountain in the market-place, and a ſtatue of Pope Urban VIII. in a fitting poſture.

In the churches of this town are ſome valuable paintings of Baroccio, who lived about the middle of the ſixteenth century, and whoſe colours ſeem improved by age,

This road along the Adriatic is very agreeable. The next place they came to was Fanum, the ancient Fanum Fortunæ. However religious the Italian towns may be, they are all proud of ſome connection with the heathen divinities. An image of the goddeſs Fortune is erected on the fountain in the market-place, and the inhabitants ſhew ſome ruins, which they pretend belonged to the temple of that deity.

Here are alſo the remains of a triumphal arch, erected in white marble, in honour of Auguſtus.

The churches of this town are adorned with ſome excellent pictures. The marriage of Joſeph, by Guercino, is peculiarly admired.

A few miles beyond Fano, they croſſed the river Metro, where Claudius Nero defeated Aſdrubal. This was, perhaps, the moſt important victory ever gained by a Roman general, as it prevented a junction between Aſdrubal and his brother, and perhaps prevented a termination being put to the Roman ſtate.

They next came to Senegallia, another ſeaport town on this coaſt. It contains little remarkable, except during the time of the annual fair, when it is much reſorted to by merchants from Venice, and all the towns on both ſides the Adriatic, from Sicily and the Archipelago. England, likewiſe carries on a very profitable trade with all the towns of Romagnia, from which our merchants purchaſe large quantities of raw ſilk, and afterwards ſell it, when manufactured, to the inhabit-

ants. They provide them alſo with a variety of cotton and linen cloths.

From Senegallia to Ancona is about fifteen miles. They travelled the greateſt part of this way in the dark, much againſt the advice of their Italian ſervants, who aſſured them that this road was infeſted with robbers from the coaſt of Dalmatia, who land from their boats, and carry off what booty they can procure. In their progreſs they were overtaken by ſome fellow's in ſailor's dreſſes, who attempted to cut off their trunks from behind the chaiſes; but finding the company too large to be attacked, they deſiſted from their deſigns.

Ancona is ſaid to have been founded by the Syracuſans, who fled from the tyranny of Dionyſius. The town was originally built on a hill, but the houſes have gradually been continued down the ſlope towards the ſea. The cathedral has a very elevated ſituation, and from it there is a very advantageous view of the town, the ſea, and the environs. This church is ſuppoſed to have been built on the ſite of a temple dedicated to Venus.

The inequalities of the ground, on which the town ſtands, prevent it from appearing elegant; but it ſeems to be advancing in opulence. Some of the nobility have the reſolution and good ſenſe to deſpiſe the ancient prejudice againſt commerce, and avowedly engage in it.

Our travellers met with ſeveral Engliſh traders on the Change, which was crowded with ſeafaring men and merchants, from various quarters. There are alſo numerous Jews eſtabliſhed in this city; and whether they contribute to the proſperity of a place or not, may admit of doubt; but

it is a certain fact, that they ſeldom ſettle but in thriving ſituations.

The commerce of Ancona has rapidly increaſed of late years, ſince it was made a free port, and encouragement given to manufactures. The mole, built to render the harbour more ſecure, is a noble work. It was begun by Clement XII. and carried on with redoubled ſpirit by Benedict XIV.

This mole was founded in the ruins of the ancient one, erected by Trajan. The ſtone of Iſtria was uſed at firſt, till the exportation of it was prohibited by the republic of Venice, which was naturally inimical to a work, that was likely to be the means of diminiſhing its commerce. A quarry of excellent ſtone was afterwards found in the vicinity; and a kind of ſand, which, when mixed with lime, forms a compoſition as hard as ſtone, is brought from the neighbourhood of Rome.

This building is two thouſand feet in length, one hundred in breadth, and about ſixty in depth from the ſurface of the ſea. In fine, it appears in its ſtupendous extent, more analagous to the revenues of ancient than of modern Rome.

Near to this ſtands the Triumphal Arch of Trajan; erected in gratitude to that emperor, for the improvements he made in this harbour at his own expence. Next to the Maiſon Quarrée at Niſmes, it is the moſt beautiful and perfect monument of Roman taſte and magnificence out of the capital. The fluted Corinthian pillars on the two ſides, are of the fineſt proportions; and the Parian marble, of which they are compoſed, is preſerved by the ſea vapour, as white and ſhining as when it was firſt poliſhed from the rock.

" I view-

"I viewed," ſays Dr. Moore, "this charming piece of antiquity with ſentiments of pleaſure and admiration, which ſprang from the elegant taſte of the artiſt who planned it, and the humane, amiable virtues of the great man to whoſe honour it was raiſed, and the grandeur and policy of the people, who, by ſuch rewards, prompted their princes to wiſe and beneficent undertakings."

From Ancona to Loretto, the road runs through a fine country, compoſed of a number of beautiful hills and intervening vales, Loretto itſelf is a ſmall town, ſtanding on an eminence about three miles from the ſea. The accommodations are very indifferent indeed, conſidering the great reſort of pilgrims to viſit the Holy Chapel. It is well known that this was originally a ſmall houſe in Nazareth, inhabited by the Virgin Mary. It was held in great veneration by all believers in Jeſus, and at length was conſecrated into a chapel, and dedicated to the Virgin, on which occaſion, it is pretended St. Luke made that identical image, which is now dignified by the name of our Lady of Loretto.

This ſanctified edifice was allowed to ſojourn in Galilee as long as the Chriſtians could keep poſſeſſion of it; but when infidels got poſſeſſion of the country, a band of angels, to ſave it from pollution, took it up in their arms, and conveyed it from Nazareth to a caſtle in Dalmatia. A blaze of celeſtial light and a concert of divine muſic accompanied it during its journey, according to the legend; and when the angels reſted themſelves in a wood, the trees bowed their heads to the ground.

Dalmatia being probably thought ſtill too near to the infidels, the ſame angels gave it another

lift; and placed it in a field belonging to a noble lady, called Lauretta, from whom the chapel takes its name. This field, however, being much infeſted by banditti, the angels removed it to the top of a hill belonging to two brothers, who, equally enamoured of their new viſiter, became jealous, fought, and fell by mutual wounds.

Theſe ill-choſen ſtations in ſome meaſure ſeem to impeach the judgment of the angels who had the conduct of the buſineſs; but at laſt they fixed the chapel where it now ſtands; and for the ſpace of four hundred years and upwards, it has loſt all diſpoſition to rambling.

Before they viſited the Santa Caſa, as it is called, one of their Italian ſervants ſeriouſly adviſed them not to attempt to break off any pieces of the ſtone, as he knew a Venetian who was guilty of this ſacrilege, in hopes that ſuch a precious relic might bring him better luck, and whoſe breeches pocket was burnt through, as if it had been by aquafortis, and his thighs miſerably ſcorched. This belief has probably ſaved the holy chapel from being carried away by the devout.

This edifice ſtands due eaſt and weſt, at the farther end of a large church which has been built round it. This may be conſidered as the external covering, or great coat, of the Santa Caſa, which has an internal covering, or caſe of the choiceſt marble, after a plan of San Savino's, and ornamented with baſs reliefs in the fineſt ſtyle of the age of Leo X.

The real houſe is only thirty-two feet long, fourteen wide, and eighteen high at the ſides. The centre of the roof is four or five feet higher than the eaves. The walls are compoſed of a

reddiſh

reddiſh ſubſtance, of an oblong ſquare form, reſembling Italian bricks, and it is probable, they are nothing elſe; though it is pretended there is not a ſingle particle of brick in their whole compoſition.

There is a ſmall interval between the walls of the ancient houſe and the marble caſe, round which the pilgrims crawl on their knees, kiſſing the ground, and ſaying their prayers with great fervour. Dr. Moore ſays, "they diſcovered ſome degree of eagerneſs to be neareſt the wall; not, I am perſuaded, with a view of ſaving their own labour, by contracting the circumference of their circuit; but, from an idea, that the evolutions they were performing, would be more beneficial to their ſouls, the nearer they were to the ſacred houſe."

It is divided within into two unequal portions, by a kind of grate-work of ſilver. The diviſion towards the weſt is about three-fourths of the whole: that to the eaſt is called the Sanctuary. In the larger diviſion, the walls are left bare, to ſhew the true original conſtruction of Nazareth ſtone. At the lower or weſtern end is a window, the ſame through which the angel Gabriel entered at the annunciation. The architraves of this window are covered with ſilver. Numerous gold and ſilver lamps decorate the chapel, the gifts of royal bigotry, and of individual ſuperſtition. Some of the ſilver lamps weigh one hundred and twenty pounds: one of gold, a preſent from the republic of Venice, weighs thirty-ſeven pounds.

In the ſanctuary ſtands the famous image, ſurrounded with gold and ſilver angels, of conſiderable ſize. The walls of this part are plated with ſil-

ver,

ver, and adorned with crucifixes, precious ſtones, and votive gifts of various kinds.

The figure of the Virgin herſelf by no means corrreſponds with the furniture of her houſe. She is a little woman, about four feet high, with the features and complexion of a negro. "Of all the ſculptors that ever exiſted, aſſuredly," ſays Dr. Moore, "St. Luke, by whom this figure is reported to have been made, was the leaſt of a flatterer."

The figure of the infant Jeſus, by the ſame artiſt, is of a piece with that of the Virgin: he holds a large golden globe in one hand, and the other is extended in the act of bleſſing. Both figures have crowns on their heads, enriched with diamonds.

The Virgin is richly habited, but in a bad taſte; which our author thinks is not to be wondered at, when ſhe has only prieſts for her tire-women.

In a ſmall place behind the ſanctuary, is kept ſome of the furniture belonging to the Virgin, particularly a little earthen pottinger, out of which the infant uſed to eat. The pilgrims bring roſaries, little crucifixes, and Agnus Dei's, which the obliging prieſt ſhakes for half a minute in this diſh, after which they acquire the virtue of curing various diſeaſes.

Above a hundred maſſes are daily ſaid in this chapel, and in the church in which it ſtands. The muſic is remarkably fine, as a certain number of the chaplains are, in effect, eunuchs.

The jewels and riches in the treaſury are of immenſe value; they are the accumulated teſtimonies of human folly, of royal, noble, and rich bigotry, and of that falſe religion, which teaches

men

men to compound with God for the pardon of ſins, by any other means than by faith, repentance, and amendment of life.

"It has been ſaid," obſerves our author, "that thoſe gifts are occaſionally melted down for the benefit of the ſtate, and alſo, that the moſt precious of the jewels are picked out, and falſe ſtones ſubſtituted in their room. This is an affair entirely between the Virgin and the pope: if ſhe does not, I knew no other perſon who has a right to complain."

Though Loretto is ſtill the object of adoration, pilgrimages to it from diſtant countries are not ſo frequent as formerly, and are now generally performed by the poorer and more ignorant claſs of the people. They ſing their matins and evening hymns aloud, and then depart; ſo that there is a conſtant ſucceſſion of viſiters to the Santa Caſa.

The only trade of Loretto conſiſts of roſaries, crucifixes, Madonnas, Agnus Dei's, and medals, which are manufactured here, and ſold to pilgrims. The evident poverty, however, of thoſe manufacturers and traders, and of the town in general, ſufficiently prove, that the reputation of our Lady of Loretta is greatly on the decline.

In the great church, which contains the holy chapel, are confeſſionals, where the penitents, from every country of Europe, may be confeſſed in their own language, prieſts being always in waiting for that purpoſe, furniſhed with long white rods, with which they touch the heads of the abſolved, who, after the ceremony, immediately retire.

In the ſpacious area, before the church, is an elegant marble fountain, ſupplied with water from

from an adjoining hill by an aqueduct. Theſe public ornaments are very common in Italy, and at once pleaſe the eye and refreſh the air. In this ſpace alſo ſtands a ſtatue of Sextus V. and over the portal of the church is a ſtatue of the Virgin.

The gates of the church are of bronze, embelliſhed with baſſo relievos of excellent workmanſhip; the ſubjects taken from the ſcriptures.

Neither the ſculpture, the paintings, the treaſure or jewels, intereſted Dr. Moore ſo much as the iron grates before the chapels in the great church. When he was told that they were made of the fetters and chains of the Chriſtian ſlaves, who were freed from bondage by the glorious victory of Lepanto, they commanded his attention more than all the ornaments and riches of the holy chapel.

The ideas that ruſh into the mind on hearing a circumſtance of this kind, are inexpreſſibly affecting. To think of four thouſand of our fellow creatures, torn from the endearments of friendſhip, and the ſweets of ſociety, chained to the oar, and ſubjected to every ill and indignity, at one bleſſed moment freed from ſlavery, reſtored to the embraces of their friends, and enjoying with them all the raptures of victory, is a ſcene on which the imagination fixes with rapture.

On leaving Loretto, they proceeded through a beautiful country to Macerata, a ſmall town, ſituated on a hill. From thence they continued their journey to Tolentino, where they paſſed the night at the worſt inn they had yet ſeen in Italy, though the beſt in the place.

"The poor people, however," ſays Dr. Moore, "ſhewed the utmoſt deſire to pleaſe; and *they* muſt

muſt have unfortunate tempers indeed, who, obſerving this, could have ſhocked them by fretfulneſs, or an air of diſſatisfaction."

Next morning they encountered the Apennines, and found the fatigue of the journey compenſated for by the beauty and variety of the views among theſe mountains. On the face of one of the higheſt of them, they obſerved the habitation of an old infirm hermit, and wondered how he could ſcramble up and down, to procure the neceſſaries of life; but were informed, that his reputation for ſanctity was ſo great, that he was amply ſupplied with proviſions, in return for the benefit of his prayers.

There are mountains and precipices among the Apennines, which do not appear contemptible even in the eyes of thoſe who have travelled among the Alps; while, on the other hand, thoſe delightful plains, contained within the boſom of the former, are infinitely ſuperior in beauty and fertility, to the valleys among the latter.

They now entered the rich province of Umbria, and ſoon after arrived at Foligno. This is a thriving town, and contains ſeveral manufactories. In a convent of nuns is a famous picture by Raphael, generally viſited by travellers.

The ſituation of Foligno is peculiarly happy. It ſtands in a charming valley, highly cultivated, and watered by the Clitumnus. The change of climate, on deſcending from the Apennines to this, is as ſudden as it is agreeable.

Their next ſtage was Vene, in which is a little building, adorned with ſix Corinthian columns. On one ſide is a crucifix in baſſo relievo, with vine branches curling round it. Some inſcriptions on this building, mention the RESURRECTION,

TION, whence it is conjectured that this was converted into a Chriſtian chapel, at an early period; but the ſtyle of architecture is too fine to warrant the ſuppoſition that this was its original deſtination. Hence it has been ſuppoſed by ſome to be a temple in honour of the river god, Clitumnus.

This river was much celebrated by the poets, who all countenance the popular opinion with regard to the quality of its waters. The breed of white cattle, which gave its banks ſo much celebrity, ſtill remains. Our travellers ſaw many of them as they paſſed; ſome milk white, but the greateſt part of them greyiſh.

Spoletto, the capital of Umbria, is ſeated on a high rock. Its ancient importance is chiefly exhibited in the inſcriptions which record its fame. One over the Porto di Fuga runs thus:

ANNIBAL
CÆSIS AD THRASYMENUM ROMANIS
URBEM ROMAM INFENSO AGMINE PETENS
SPOLETO MAGNA SUORUM CLADE REPULSUS,
INSIGNI FUGA PORTÆ NOMEN FECIT*.

This town is ſtill ſupplied with water, by means of an ancient aqueduct, one of the moſt entire, and higheſt in Europe. In the centre is a double arcade, from whence the arches diminiſh in height towards the ſloping ſides of the two mountains, which this noble work unites.

Quitting Spoletto, they paſſed over the higheſt of the Apennines, and deſcended through a foreſt

* Hannibal, having defeated the Romans at Thraſymene, and marching his army to Rome, was repulſed at Spoletto with great ſlaughter. The memorable flight of the Carthaginians gave name to this gate.

of

of olive trees, to the fruitful valley watered by the Nera. In this ſtands Ferni, the ancient Interamna. The emperor Tacitus and his brother Florianus were natives of this city; but it derives its chief honour from having produced the hiſtorian Tacitus.

Near this is a celebrated cataract, generally viſited by ſtrangers. Innumerable ſtreams, from the heights of the Apennines, meeting in one channel, form the river Velnio, which flows ſome way with a gentle current, till the plain terminates, on a ſudden, in a precipice three hundred feet high, over which the river daſhes with tremendous violence.

The diſtance from Terni to Narni, is ſeven miles; the road uncommonly good and the country delightful. At Narni our author viewed the bridge of Auguſtus, a ſtately fabric, wholly of marble, and without any cement. One of the arches remains entire, and others appear in ruins.

This fabric is uſually called Auguſtus's bridge, and is unqueſtionably alluded to by Martial. Some judicious travellers, however, imagine it to be the remains of an aqueduct, and not a bridge; but probably it may have ſerved the purpoſe of both.

The town is very poor and thinly inhabited. It boaſts, however, of being the birth-place of the emperor Nerva, and ſome other celebrated men.

From Narni to Otricoli, the road is rough and mountainous. This is a poor village, but advantageouſly ſituated on a riſing ground. Between this and the Tiber are many looſe fragments and vaults, ſuppoſed to be the ruins of the ancient Ocriculum.

The only place of note between this and Rome is Civita Caſtellana, which is conſidered, by many antiquarians, as the Feſcennium of the ancients. It ſtands on a high rock, and formerly muſt have been a place of ſome conſequence, like moſt of the other towns on the Flaminian way.

"This, I am convinced," obſerves Dr. Moore, "is the only country in the world where the fields become more deſolate as you approach the capital. After having traverſed the cultivated and fertile valleys of Umbria, one is doubly affected at beholding the deplorable ſtate of poor, neglected Latium. For ſeveral poſts before you arrive at Rome, few villages, little cultivation, and ſcarcely any inhabitants, are to be ſeen. In the Campania of Rome, formerly the beſt cultivated and beſt peopled ſpot in the univerſe, no trees, no houſes, no incloſures, nothing but the ſcattered ruins of temples and tombs, preſenting the idea of a country depopulated by a peſtilence. All is motionleſs, ſilent, and forlorn. In the midſt of theſe deſerted fields, the ancient miſtreſs of the world rears her head in melancholy majeſty."

On their arrival at Rome, their firſt care was to wait on the Prince Guiſtiniani, for whom they had letters from a relation of his at Vienna. Nothing could exceed the politeneſs which he and his princeſs ſhewed them. He immediately paid his reſpects to the Duke of Hamilton, and took them in his own carriage to every houſe of diſtinction. Two or three hours a day were ſpent in this ceremony at firſt; but after being once preſented, no farther introduction or invitation was neceſſary.

They

They generally ſpent their mornings in viſiting the antiquities and paintings in the palaces. On thoſe occaſions they were accompanied by Mr. Byres, a gentleman of real taſte and knowledge. Two or three hours every evening they paſſed at the converzationes; for it frequently happens, that ſeveral of the nobility have theſe aſſemblies at the ſame time; and almoſt all the company, of a certain rank, make it a point, if they go to any, to go to all. Thus, though there is a continual change of place, there is little change of company, or variation in amuſement; but this circumſtance alone is found an uſeful accomplice in the murder of a tedious evening. The company fly from one place to another in ſearch of ſuperior gratification, and are generally diſappointed at laſt.

The converzationes are always held in the principal apartment of the palace, which is generally on the ſecond, but ſometimes on the third floor. On entering the hall where the footmen of the company are aſſembled, the name of the viſiter is pronounced aloud by ſome ſervants of the family, and repeated by others in paſſing along. On reaching the apartment where the company is aſſembled, the maſter and miſtreſs are ready to receive them, and after a ſhort compliment, the new comers mix with the company, which is ſometimes ſo large, that none but the ladies can ſit down.

There is always a greater number of men than women; for no lady comes without a gentleman to hand her. This gentleman, who acts the part of a cavaliero ſervente, may be her relation in any degree, or her lover, or both. He may be

connected with her in any way he pleaſes, ſays Dr. Moore, but one—he muſt *not* be her huſband. A man muſt not be ſeen handing his wife in public in this city.

At Cardinal Berne's aſſembly, the company were ſerved with coffee, lemonade, and iced confections of various kinds; but this cuſtom is not univerſal. In ſhort, at a converzatione there is an opportunity of ſeeing a number of well-dreſſed people, of ſpeaking to acquaintances, bowing to the reſt, and of being ſqueezed and preſſed among the beſt company of Rome. Little converſation takes place at ſuch meetings, ſo that their name appears miſapplied.

The company breaks up about nine, except a ſmall ſelect party invited to ſupper. Convivial entertainments, indeed, are rare among the modern Romans. The magnificence of the nobility diſplays itſelf in other articles than in the luxuries of the table: they generally dine at home, and in a very private manner.

Strangers are ſeldom invited to dinner, except by foreign ambaſſadors. Our travellers, however, found the hoſpitality of Cardinal Berni make up for every deficiency of that nature. Nothing could exceed the elegant magnificence of his table, nor the ſplendid hoſpitality in which he lived. Years had not impaired his wit or vivacity; and no man could ſupport the pretenſions of the French nation to ſuperior politeneſs, better than this gentleman, who was their ambaſſador at Rome.

The ſtreets are not lighted; and were it not for the devotion of individuals, which induces them ſometimes to place candles before the ſta-

tues

tues of the Virgin, Rome would be in utter darkneſs. The lackeys carry dark lanthorns behind the carriages of people of the firſt diſtinction. The cardinals and other eccleſiaſtics, it ſeems, do not chuſe to have their coaches ſeen before the doors of every houſe they viſit; and the inferior ranks of the citizens appear to have as little wiſh for light, which would only expoſe their amorous aſſignations.

The Italians in general have a remarkable air of gravity, which they preſerve, even when the ſubject of converſation leads to gaiety. The Roman ladies have a languor in their countenances which promiſes ſenſibility, and without the talkativeneſs of the French, or the frankneſs of the Venetian women, they ſeem no way averſe to form connections with ſtrangers. The Duke of Hamilton was preſented to a beautiful young lady at one of the aſſemblies, and happening to mention that he had heard ſhe was lately married, "Yes," ſays ſhe, "my lord; but my huſband is an old man. O Holy Virgin," added ſhe in a moſt affecting tone of voice, "how exceeding old he is!"

Authors are much divided about the population of ancient Rome, ſome making it amount to ſeven millions. It is probable, however, that this is an exaggeration; nor is it likely that its extent ever exceeded the wall built by Beliſarius, which is about thirteen or fourteen miles in circumference, and is ſtill ſtanding.

The buildings, however, without the walls, were certainly of vaſt extent; and we are told that ſtrangers, who viewed this immenſe plain covered with houſes, imagined that they had al-

ready entered Rome, when they were thirty miles from the walls of that city *.

Some of the ſeven hills, on which Rome was built, appear now but gentle ſwellings, from the rubbiſh filling up the vales. Some are principally covered with gardens and vineyards; and about two-thirds of the ſurface within the walls, are either in this ſituation, or covered with ruins. The whole population is calculated at one hundred and ſeventy thouſand; which, though greatly inferior to its ancient numbers, is certainly ſuperior to what it has been at intermediate periods.

Some of the principal ſtreets are perfectly ſtraight. The Corſo, as it is called, is moſt frequented. Here the nobility diſplay their equipages during the carnival, and take an airing in fine evenings. It is indeed the great ſcene of Roman magnificence and amuſement.

The ſhops on each ſide are three or four feet higher than the ſtreet, and there is a foot paſſage on a level with them. The palaces, of which there are ſeveral in this ſtreet, range in a line with the houſes, without having courts before them, as in Paris; or being ſhut up, as ſome of the reſidences of the nobility in London.

The Strada Felice, in the higher part of the city, is about a mile and a half long, and runs in a ſtraight line, but the view is broken by the fine church of St. Maria Maggiore. This ſtreet is croſſed by another, called the Strada di Porta Pia, at one end of which is a magnificent gate, and at the other four coloſſal ſtatues in white marble,

* Such an immenſe collection of buildings always contain within themſelves the principle of decay. When a capital becomes overgrown, the ſtate is generally verging to a diſſolution.

of

of two horſes led by two men, ſuppoſed to be repreſentations of Alexander taming Bucephalus; or, according to others, of Caſtor and Pollux. They ſtand before the papal palace, on the Quirinal hill, and have a noble effect.

It would be difficult to convey an idea of the ſmaller ſtreets; it may therefore be obſerved, in general, that Rome exhibits a ſtrange mixture of magnificent and intereſting, common and beggarly objects.

The church of St. Peter, in the opinion of many, ſurpaſſes, in ſize and magnificence, the fineſt monuments of ancient architecture. The Grecian and Roman temples were rather elegant than large. The Pantheon is the moſt entire antique temple in Rome. It is ſaid that Michael Angelo made the dome of St. Peter's of the ſame diameter as the Pantheon, to ſhew his ſuperiority over the ancient architects.

The approach to St. Peter's is very grand. A magnificent portico advances on each ſide from the front, forming two ſquares: the third is cloſed by the front of the church, and the fourth is open. A colonnade, four columns deep, commences at the extremities of the porticoes, and forms the moſt ſuperb area perhaps ever ſeen before any building.

This colonnade is crowned with a baluſtrade, ſupporting a great number of ſtatues; and conſiſts of above three hundred large pillars, forming three ſeparate walks. In the middle ſtands an Egyptian obeliſk of granite; and to the right and left of this, two very beautiful fountains refreſh the air with ſtreams of clear water.

The length of St. Peter's, taken on the outſide, is exactly ſeven hundred and thirty feet, and its

its breadth five hundred and twenty. The height, from the pavement to the top of the croſs, is four hundred and fifty. The grand portico before the entrance is two hundred and ſixteen feet long and forty wide.

It is impoſſible in this place to attempt a deſcription of the ſtatues, baſſo relievos, columns, pictures, and various ornaments of this church: ſuch an account would fill volumes. The fineſt of all the ornaments have a probability of being longer preſerved than could once have been imagined, by the aſtoniſhing improvements which have been lately made in the art of copying pictures in Moſaic. By this means the works of Raphael and other great painters will be tranſmitted to a late poſterity, with little diminution of the beauty of the originals.

Our travellers were preſent at the proceſſion of the Poſſeſſo, which is performed by every pope, ſoon after his election, and is equivalent to a coronation in England. On this occaſion the pope goes to the Baſilica of St. John Latuan, the moſt ancient, as it is ſaid, of all the churches in Rome, and the mother of all the churches in chriſtendom. From this he proceeds to the Capitol, and receives the keys of that fortreſs.

The Prince Guiſtiniani procured a place for them at the houſe of the ſenator in the Capitol. On their arrival, they were ſurpriſed to find the main body of the palace and the wings, all hung with crimſon ſilk, laced with gold. The baſes and capitals of the pillars, where the ſilk could not be accurately applied, were gilt in the moſt gaudy ſtyle.

In the balcony, where they were placed, they found a number of ladies, of the firſt diſtinction in

Rome. The men of rank have moſtly ſome function in the proceſſion.

His holineſs's departure from the Vatican, was announced by a diſcharge of cannon from the caſtle of St. Angelo, on the top of which the ſtandard of the church was flying. The officers of the pope's horſe guards were dreſſed in a ſtyle equally rich and becoming, with a profuſion of plumes in their hats. The Swiſs guards were dreſſed in real coats of mail, with ſteel helmets, as if they had been to take the Capitol by ſtorm. Their appearance was ſtrongly contraſted with that of the Roman barons, who were on horſe-back, without boots, and in full dreſs. Each of them was preceded by four pages, their hair depending in ringlets to the middle of their backs; they were followed by a number of ſervants in rich liveries.

Biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics ſucceeded the barons, and then came the cardinals in purple robes, which covered their horſes, except the head. Laſt of all comes the pope himſelf, on a milk-white mule, diſtributing bleſſings with an unſparing hand among the multitude; who follow him with acclamations of Viva il Santo Padre, and proſtrating themſelves on the ground before his mule, beg his benediction. The holy father took particular care to wave his hand in the form of a croſs, to give his bleſſing the greater efficacy. Two ſervants held the bridle of his mule, that he might be perfectly at liberty to diſtribute his favours.

At the entrance of the Capitol, the keys were delivered into the hands of his holineſs by the ſenator; and after a bleſſing, they were again reſtored to him. Proceeding from the Capitol,

a de-

a deputation of Jews meet the pope, headed by the chief rabbi, who preſented him with a long ſcroll of parchment, on which was written the whole law of Moſes. His holineſs received the preſent in a very gracious manner; but gave the rabbi to underſtand, that he rejected his interpretation of the law, which was already fulfilled by the coming of the Meſſiah. The rabbi knew it was in vain to diſpute; he bowed his head in ſilence, and retired. Meanwhile his holineſs proceeded in triumph through the principal ſtreets to the Vatican.

This proceſſion is ſaid to be one of the moſt ſhewy and magnificent which ever takes place in Rome; yet our author ſays it did not afford him much ſatisfaction; nor could all their pomp and finery prevent an uneaſy recollection, mixed with ſentiments of contempt, from obtruding on his mind. To feel unmixed admiration, continues he, in beholding the pope and his cardinals marching in triumph to the Capitol, one muſt forget thoſe who walked formerly to the ſame place—the immortal heroes and worthies of ancient Rome, compared with whom, popes and cardinals ſink into inſignificance.

Proceed we now to take a ſhort review of ſome of the moſt celebrated antiquities. The Pantheon, though not the largeſt, is the moſt perfect of the Roman temples. In ſpite of the depredations ſuſtained from the Goths, the Vandals, and the popes, it ſtill remains a beautiful monument of Roman taſte. The pavilion of the great altar, which ſtands under the cupola in St. Peter's, and the four wreathed pillars of Corinthian braſs which ſupport it, were formed out of the ſpoils of

the

the Pantheon, which, after all, has a probability of outliving its proud rival.

From the round form of the Pantheon, it has obtained the name of Rotunda: its height is one hundred and fifty feet, and its breadth nearly the ſame. Within, it is divided into eight compartments, each of which is diſtinguiſhed by two fluted Corinthian pillars, and as many pilaſters of Giallo Antico. The wall is perpendicular for half the height of the temple; it then ſlopes forwards; as it aſcends, the circumference gradually diminiſhing, till it terminates in an opening about twenty-five feet in diameter, which lights the whole with aſtoniſhing effect.

The portico was added by Marcus Agrippa, the ſon-in-law of Auguſtus. It is ſupported by ſixteen pillars of granite, each five feet in diameter, and ſingle blocks. On the frieze in the front is the following inſcription:

M. AGRIPPA L. F. CONSUL. TERTIUM FECIT*.

The Pantheon itſelf is generally ſuppoſed to be much more ancient than the Auguſtan age; and that this addition, though very beautiful, is not in uniſon with the ſimplicity of the reſt.

As the Pantheon is the moſt entire, the amphitheatre of Veſpaſian, called the Coliſeum, is the moſt ſtupendous monument of antiquity in Rome. This vaſt ſtructure was built of Tiburtine ſtone, which is remarkably durable; and had it met with no worſe enemy than time, it might have been the admiration of the lateſt ages. The fury of barbarians, however, and the zeal and avarice

* Founded by Marcus Agrippa, the ſon of Lucius, during his third conſulſhip.

of

of bigots, have done more than the ſlow corroſions of years, towards the demolition of this pile.

About one half the external circuit ſtill remains, from which a pretty exact idea may be formed of the original ſtructure. By a computation made by Mr. Byres, it was capable of containing eighty-five thouſand ſpectators. Fourteen chapels are now erected within ſide, repreſenting the ſtages of our Saviour's paſſion. This expedient of conſecrating them into Chriſtian chapels and churches, has ſaved ſome of the fineſt remains of heathen magnificence from utter deſtruction.

Our admiration, however, of the Romans is tempered with horror, when we reflect on the uſe formerly made of this immenſe building, and the dreadful ſcenes which paſſed on the arena; where not only criminals condemned to death, but alſo priſoners taken in war, were obliged to butcher each other for the entertainment of an inhuman populace. The combats of gladiators were firſt introduced at funerals only, where priſoners were obliged to aſſume that profeſſion; but at laſt, it became cuſtomary to hire men, who had been bred to this horrid buſineſs, on days of public rejoicing; or when the great wiſhed to entertain their friends; or to catch at popular applauſe, by gratifying the barbarous taſte of the lower ranks.

As theſe combats formed the ſupreme pleaſure of the people of Rome at one period, the moſt cruel of their emperors were ſometimes the moſt popular, merely becauſe they indulged the people without reſtraint in their favourite amuſement. When Marcus Aurelius thought it neceſſary, for the public ſervice, to recruit his army from the gladiators of Rome, it excited more diſcontent

among the people than the wildeſt pranks of Caligula.

In the times of ſome of the emperors, the lower claſs of the Roman citizens were degraded by every vice and meanneſs; they ſubſiſted on the largeſſes of the great, and paſſed their whole time in the circus and amphitheatres, where every ſentiment of humanity was obliterated by the dreadful ſcenes they were habituated to ſee. That no occaſion might be loſt of giving a ſavage character to the populace, criminals were condemned to fight with wild beaſts in the arena; and, at other times, they were blindfolded, and in that condition obliged to cut and ſlaughter each other.

But, while we expreſs horror and indignation at this brutal taſte of the Romans for the bloody combats of the amphitheatre, let us not conſider this as proceeding from any peculiar cruelty of diſpoſition inherent in that people; but from the ill examples of a few, and the want of ſome mild and humane principles to reſtrain the evil propenſities of men. He who arms a gamecock with ſteel, who delights in a boxing match, would ſoon feel equal pleaſure in ſeeing armed men oppoſed to each other, by way of amuſement, did not the influence of a pure religion, and a brighter example now reſtrain him. As ſoon as the benevolent precepts of Chriſtianity were received by the Romans as laws of the true God, the priſoners and ſlaves were treated with humanity, and the bloody exhibitions in the amphitheatres ceaſed.

The approach to the Capitol, or the modern Campidoglio, is worthy of the genius of Michael Angelo. The building itſelf is raiſed by that great artiſt on the ruins of the ancient Capitol,

and fronts St. Peter's church, with its back to the Forum and Old Rome.

The two ſphynxes of baſaltes, the trophies erected in honour of Caius Marius, the coloſſal ſtatues of Caſtor and Pollux; the equeſtrian ſtatue of Marcus Aurelius; and the majeſtic female figure, ſaid to be Roma Triumphans, all burſt on the eye in quick ſucceſſion, and fill the mind with wonder and reflection. Is there ſuch another inſtance of the viciſſitudes of human things, as the proud miſtreſs of the world falling under the dominion of a prieſt.

In the two wings of the modern palace, called the Campidoglio, the conſervators of the city, correſponding to the ancient ædiles, have their apartments. In the main body an Italian nobleman reſides, with the title of Senator of Rome, the miſerable repreſentative of that ſenate which gave laws to the world.

The Forum Romanum exhibits a melancholy, but intereſting, view of the devaſtation wrought by the united force of time, avarice, and bigotry. Near this are to be traced the remains of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Auguſtus, in gratitude for having narrowly eſcaped death from a ſtroke of lightning; the remains of Jupiter Stator; the Temple of Concord; the Temples of Romulus and Remus, and of Antoninus and Fauſtina, both converted into churches; and the ruins of the magnificent Temple of Peace, built immediately after the taking of Jeruſalem.

Of the various triumphal arches which formerly ſtood in Rome, there are only three remaining, all near the Capitol, and forming entries into the Forum; thoſe of Titus, Septimius Severus, and Conſtantine. The laſt is by far the moſt magnificent;

ficent; owing to its borrowed ornaments from the Forum of Trajan.

The relievos of the arch of Titus repreſent the table of ſhew bread, the trumpets, and golden candleſticks, with ſeven branches, and other utenſils brought from the Temple of Jeruſalem. The quarter allotted to the Jews is not far from this arch; but they always cautiouſly avoid paſſing through it, though it is their neareſt way to the Campo Vaccino. This inſtance of ſenſibility is extremely affecting; and ſhews, that the patriotiſm of the Jews is equal to their attachment to their original inſtitutions. There are ſaid to be about nine thouſand of them in Rome; the lineal deſcendants of thoſe brought captive by Titus from Jeruſalem.

There are many other intereſting ruins in and about this part of Rome, too numerous to be particularized. The Tarpeian Rock, ſo often mentioned in the claſſics as the ſcene of execution, is a continuation of that on which the Capitol was built, and is now about fifty-eight feet perpendicular, though it muſt once have been eighty. Criminals, precipitated from this rock, were literally thrown out of Old Rome into the Campus Martius, a large plain of a triangular ſhape; two ſides of which were formed by the Tiber, and the baſe by the Capitol.

In this field aſſemblies of the people were held, military exerciſes performed, and elections made. The dead bodies of the moſt illuſtrious citizens were alſo burnt in this field, which was gradually adorned by ſtatues and trophies; but every feature of its ancient appearance is now obliterated by the ſtreets and buildings of modern Rome.

Trajan's pillar is one of the moſt admired antiquities of Rome. It is covered by baſſo relievos repreſenting his victories over the Dacians, and is one hundred and twenty feet high, excluſive of the ſtatue. The aſhes of Trajan were depoſited in an urn at the bottom, and his ſtatue was placed at the top. Pope Sixtus V. however, erected a braſs ſtatue of St. Peter in his room, with what propriety we leave our readers to judge.

Our travellers, during their reſidence in Rome, were preſent at the ceremony of the beatification of a ſaint. He was of the order of St. Francis, and a great many brethren of that ſociety were preſent, and in high ſpirits on the occaſion. On the day of the ſolemnity, his holineſs, and numerous eccleſiaſtical attendants, proceeded to St. Peter's church. Being aſſembled, a Franciſcan friar made a long panegyric on the deceaſed, and did not forget to enumerate the miracles wrought by his bones. The Devil's Advocate, as he is called, then endeavoured to invalidate the teſtimony which had been given in favour of the expectant ſaint; but his labours were in vain: the devil loſt his cauſe without the poſſibility of appeal; and St. Buonaventura obtained a place in the calendar.

It is, perhaps, difficult to trace the characters of nations from a ſhort, or caſual acquaintance with individuals. That the Italians have an uncommon ſhare of natural ſagacity and acuteneſs, is ſcarcely to be denied; but they are accuſed of being deceitful, perfidious, and revengeful; and the frequent aſſaſſinations and murders which happen in the great towns of Italy, are brought as proofs of this ſerious charge. Our author, however, thinks, that the murders which occaſionally

ſionally happen, proceed from a deplorable want of police, and ſome impolitic cuſtoms, ſuch as the uſe of ſanctuary in churches, and convents in particular. Where the right of aſylum has been taken away, as in the Grand Duke of Tuſcany's dominions, inſtead of drawing a knife in their paſſion, the people fight with the ſame blunt weapons as in England. Amidſt the paroxiſms of rage, people always, in ſome meaſure, calculate on the future conſequences; and when they feel that puniſhment is inevitable, though they indulge their thirſt of revenge, they will ſoon learn to moderate its heat.

"My idea of the Italians," ſays Dr. Moore, "is, that they are an ingenious, ſober people, with quick feelings, and therefore irritable; but when unprovoked, of a mild and obliging diſpoſition, and leſs ſubject to avarice, envy, or repining at the narrowneſs of their circumſtances, and the comparative wealth of others, than moſt other nations."

Thefts, and crimes which are not capital, are puniſhed at Rome, and ſome other towns of Italy, by impriſonment, or what is called the Cord. This laſt is performed by tying the culprit's hands behind with a cord, which runs on a pully, and then drawing him about twenty or thirty feet from the ground; and, if lenity be intended, letting him down again in a gentle, eaſy manner.

Breaking on the wheel is never uſed in Rome for any crime; but ſometimes they put in practice another mode of execution, more ſhocking in appearance than cruel in reality. The criminal being ſeated on a ſcaffold, the executioner ſtrikes him behind on the head with a hammer, which deprives him of all ſenſation; and then, with a

knife, cuts his throat from ear to ear, which laſt part of the ceremony is thought to have the moſt impreſſion on the minds of the ſpectators.

Executions are not frequent at Rome. Our author only ſaw one; and this man certainly was not taken off till the meaſure of his iniquity was full—it was for his fifth murder; yet the decent and feeling behaviour of the populace ſhewed that they were not of a ſanguinary diſpoſition; and the manner in which the execution was conducted, was well calculated to impreſs the ſpectators with a ſenſe of the enormity of violating the laws of their country. He was confeſſed and abſolved; and then requeſting the people to join in prayers for his ſoul, he walked with a hurried pace to the gallows, when he was ſpeedily turned off, and two men pulling his legs, he muſt have been dead in an inſtant.

The multitude beheld the ſcene with ſilent awe and compaſſion. During the time appointed for the body to hang, all the members of the proceſſion, with the whole apparatus of torches, crucifixes, and Capuchins, went into a neighbouring church, and remained there till a maſs was ſaid for the ſoul of the deceaſed. They then returned in proceſſion to the gallows, with a coffin covered with black cloth.

The condemned having paid the forfeit due to his crimes, was no longer conſidered as an object of hatred. Two perſons, in maſks and black gowns, mounted the ladder and cut the rope, while others received the body, and carefully put it into the coffin. An old woman then exclaimed, "I hope his ſoul is in heaven!" a ſentiment in which the ſurrounding multitude ſeemed fervently to join.

The

The crimes of which this man had been guilty, muſt naturally have raiſed the indignation of the people; and being one of the ſbirri, who are held in the moſt perfect deteſtation, his profeſſion had a tendency to keep it up; yet, the moment they ſaw the object of their hatred in the character of a poor condemned man, all their animoſity ceaſed, and not the leaſt inſult was offered that could diſturb him in his dying moments. They viewed him with the eyes of pity and forgiveneſs, and joined with earneſtneſs in prayers for his future welfare.

Thoſe who poſſeſs a real antiquariah taſte, generally ſpend about ſix weeks in viſiting all the churches, palaces, and ruins worth ſeeing here. Our author, however, mentions one Engliſh gentleman who happened not to be ſo violently ſmitten with the charms of virtú, and who thought a month or ſix weeks too long to be thrown away on a purſuit in which he felt no pleaſure, and ſaw little utility. The only advantage which, in his opinion, was reaped from this long tour was, that people could ſay they had ſeen a great many fine things. He was unwilling to allow any one this ſuperiority; and, therefore, having procured a proper perſon to attend him, he ordered a poſt-chaiſe and four horſes; and driving through churches, palaces, villas, and ruins, with all poſſible expedition, he fairly ſaw in two days, even to a ſingle picture and the moſt mutilated remains of a ſtatue, all that more deliberate connoiſſeurs could have viſited in ſix weeks. "I do not intend," ſays Dr. Moore, "to propoſe this young gentleman's plan as the beſt poſſible; but I am certain, that he can give as good an account of the curioſities of Rome, as ſome of my acquaintances who viewed

viewed them with *equal* ſenſibility, and at a great deal more leiſure."

Beſides churches, there are about thirty palaces in Rome, quite covered with paintings. The Borgheſe palace alone is ſaid to contain about one thouſand ſix hundred originals. There are alſo ten or twelve villas in the environs, uſually viſited by ſtrangers.

The Hermaphrodite, in the Borgheſe palace, is accounted by many one of the fineſt pieces of ſculpture in the world. The mattreſs on which this fine figure reclines, is the work of Bernini, and nothing can be more admirably executed. Some critics, indeed, ſay he has performed his taſk too well, as the admiration of the ſpectator is divided between the ſtatue and the mattreſs.

Among the antiquities in this palace is a Centaur, in marble, with a Cupid mounted on his back. The latter has the ceſtus of Venus and the ivy crown of Bacchus, in alluſion to beauty and wine: he beats the Centaur with his fiſt, and ſeems to kick with violence, to drive him along. The Centaur throws back his head and eyes with a look of remorſe, as if he were unwilling, though forced, to proceed. The execution of this is admirable in itſelf; but it acquires additional merit, when conſidered as allegorical of men, who are hurried on by the violence of their paſſions, and lament their own weakneſs, while they find themſelves unable to reſiſt.

There is another figure, more valuable for its moral than its ſculpture. It is a ſmall ſtatue of Venus Cloacina, trampling on an impregnated uterus, and tearing the wings of Cupid. The allegory indicates that proſtitution is equally deſtructive of generation and love.

The

The ſtatue, called Zingara, or the Fortune-teller, has all the archneſs of expreſſion in the countenance which belongs to thoſe whoſe trade it is to impoſe on the credulity of the vulgar.

Seneca dying in the bath, in touchſtone, ſtands in a baſon of bluiſh marble, lined with porphyry. His knees ſeem to bend under him from weakneſs; and his whole features denote languor, faintneſs, and the approach of death.

The Faun, dandling an infant Bacchus, is one of the gayeſt figures that can be imagined.

In this villa, likewiſe, are ſome highly eſteemed pieces by Bernini; among which are Æneas carrying his father Anchiſes; David ſlinging the ſtone at Goliah; and Apollo purſuing Daphne, generally reckoned a maſter-piece.

The celebrated ſculptures of Laocoon, in the Vatican, and of Niobe, in the Villa de Medici, have been celebrated by every traveller. The ancients ſeem to have known how to expreſs the paſſions in ſuch a manner as to excite correſpondent feelings; they are chaſte in their deſigns; and when they wiſh to awaken pity, take care not to freeze with horror.

The Apollo of the Vatican, and the Fighting Gladiator, the Farneſian Hercules, and the Belvedere Antinous are celebrated all over Europe *.

Our author mentions an anecdote, which will give much inſight into the manners of the modern Italians. One day, calling on an artiſt of his acquaintance, he met an old woman and a very fine girl coming out of his door. Having

* Some of the moſt admirable of theſe fine pieces of antiquity are no longer to be ſeen at Rome: they are removed to France, being extorted as the purchaſe of peace.

rallied

rallied the painter on his viſiters, he was informed that the girl was hired on purpoſe to allow him to ſtudy the human proportions; and that, indelicate as this might appear, for aught he knew or believed, ſhe was ſtrictly virtuous; and that her mother conſtantly attended on this exhibition of her daughter's charms. "I have," ſaid the artiſt, drawn her as Venus; but for any thing I know to the contrary, I ſhould have approached nearer to her real character, had I painted her as Diana. She comes here merely in obedience to her parents, and gains her bread as innocently as if ſhe were knitting purſes in a convent, from morning to night, without ſeeing the face of a man. In different countries," continued he, "people think very differently on ſubjects of this kind. The parents of this girl, to my knowledge, have refuſed conſiderable offers, from men of fortune, to be allowed the privilege of viſiting her. They are ſo very careful of preventing every thing of this natnre, that ſhe actually lies in the ſame bed with them both, which is another piece of indelicacy not uncommon among the lower order of the Italians. Theſe poor people have the more merit in refuſing ſuch offers, as their acting otherwiſe would by no means be thought extraordinary; nor would it raiſe ſuch ſcandal as in ſome other countries of Europe."

The preſent pope, ſays Dr. Moore, who has aſſumed the name of Pius VI. is a tall, well made man*; about ſixty years of age, but retaining in his looks all the freſhneſs of a much earlier period of life. He lays a greater ſtreſs on the ceremonious part of his religion than his pre-

* He was Cardinal Braſchi before his election.

deceſſor, Ganganelli, in whoſe reign a great relaxation of church diſcipline took place.

Ganganelli was a man of moderation, good ſenſe, and great ſimplicity of manners; and could not go through all the oſtentatious parade, which his ſtation required, without reluctance and marks of diſguſt. He knew that the opinions of mankind had undergone a very great change ſince thoſe ceremonies were firſt eſtabliſhed; and that the moſt reſpectable of the ſpectators conſidered as frivolous, what had once been held ſacred. He was an enemy to fraud and hypocriſy of every kind; but however remiſs he was in keeping his ſubjects ignorant, every body acknowledges his diligence and zeal in promoting their proſperity. He did all in his power to revive trade and to encourage manufactures and induſtry. He built no churches; but he repaired roads, reſtrained the malevolence of bigots, removed ancient prejudices, and promoted ſentiments of charity and good will to mankind, without excepting even heretics.

His enemies, the Jeſuits, gave him the name of the Proteſtant Pope, and by this intended calumny, paid the higheſt compliment to the man and the Chriſtian. Yet politicians, as well as bigots, lamented his indifference to forms; for, however frivolous they were in themſelves, they were juſtly conſidered of importance in ſuch a a government as Rome.

The preſent pope, before he was raiſed to that dignity, was conſidered as a firm believer in all the tenets of the Romiſh church, and a ſtrict and ſcrupulous obſerver of all its injunctions and ceremonials. This probably influenced the conclave to elect him; for, in point of family, fortune,

tune, and connections, many had higher pretenſions.

Under Ganganelli, Proteſtantiſm was regarded with diminiſhed apprehenſion, and even Calviniſts were treated with a degree of indulgence to which their inveterate enmity to the church of Rome gave them little title. Several inſtances of this are recorded; and the following extraordinary one among the reſt.

A Scotch Preſbyterian, having heated his brains by reading the book of Martyrs, the cruelties of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and ſimilar publications, was ſeized with a dread that the ſame horrors were juſt about to be renewed. This terrible idea haunted his imagination day and night. He at laſt communicated his anxiety and diſtreſs of mind to a worthy, ſenſible clergyman, who lived in his neighbourhood; who did all in his power to convince him that his apprehenſions were groundleſs. He likewiſe had the good ſenſe to deſire his relations to remove the volumes which had given riſe to his phrenſy, and to ſubſtitute others of a leſs gloomy caſt, which was carefully done.

The poor man, however, could not be prevailed on to read the books which were put in his way; but confined himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the Revelations, particularly the parts which referred to the whore of Babylon, or in other words to the pope of Rome. This increaſed his malady; and he at length conceived the idea of proceeding immediately Rome, and converting the pope to the Preſbyterian religion.

Full of this grand ſcheme, he became more tranquil and cheerful; and while his relations were congratulating each other on this agreeable

change

change in his manner, the exulting visionary, without communicating his design to any mortal, set out for London, took his passage to Leghorn, and soon after found himself in Rome.

He applied to an ecclesiastic of his own country, telling him that he earnestly desired to have a conference with the pope, on a business which admitted of no delay. The good-natured priest, seeing the state of the man's mind, wished to amuse him, by putting off the conference to a distant day; but the visionary soon after happening to go to St. Peter's, while his holiness was performing some religious ceremony, he could no longer wait for the expected interview; but, bursting out with zealous indignation, he exclaimed, "O thou beast of nature, with seven heads and ten horns! Thou mother of harlots, arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls! throw away the golden cup of thy abominations, and the filthiness of thy fornication!"

Such an apostrophe, in such a place, may naturally be supposed to have excited some confusion: he was immediately seized, and carried to prison.

When it was known he was a Briton, he was asked, by such as understood his language, "what had brought him to Rome?" He answered, "to anoint the eyes of the scarlet whore with eye-salve, that she might see her wickedness." They asked "who he meant by the scarlet whore?" "Who else," said he, "but her who sitteth on seven mountains, who hath seduced the kings of the earth to commit fornication, and hath gotten drunk with the blood of martyrs and saints!"

Many other queſtions were aſked, and replies equally provoking returned. His judges were for condemning him to the galleys; that he might be taught more ſenſe and better manners; but when Ganganelli (Clement XIV.) heard their ſentiments, he ſaid, with much good humour, "That he never had heard of any body whoſe underſtanding or politeneſs had been improved at that ſchool; and though the poor man's firſt addreſs had been a little rough and abrupt, yet he could not help conſidering himſelf as obliged to him for his good intentions, and for his undertaking ſuch a long journey with a view of doing good."

He afterwards gave orders to treat the viſionary with gentleneſs, while he remained in confinement, and to put him on board the firſt ſhip bound from Civita Vecchia for England, defraying the expences of his paſſage.

However humane and reaſonable this conduct was, his holineſs did not eſcape cenſure for his lenity; and many, who loved the eaſy, amiable diſpoſition of the man, thought that the ſpirit of the times required a different character on the papal throne.

Pius VI. is of an oppoſite character. He performs all the religious functions of his office in the moſt ſolemn manner, even in the moſt common acts of devotion.

Dr. Moore ſaw him one day in St. Peter's church with only a few attendants, bowing, kneeling, and kiſſing the foot of St. Peter, and then rubbing his brow and his whole head, with every mark of humility and devotion, on the ſacred ſtump; for it is no more, as one half of the foot has long been worn away by the kiſſes of

the pious, and it is probable that the reſt may ſoon follow, if his holineſs's example is generally imitated.

This appearance of zeal in the pope is not aſcribed to hypocriſy or policy by the common people; but it gives them a high opinion of the ſtrength of his faith; and, as for his underſtanding, they are not capable of eſtimating it.

This being jubilee year, our travellers were preſent at the ceremony in St. Peter's on this occaſion, which was attended by an immenſe number of pilgrims from different Popiſh countries. After maſs, on Chriſtmas day, the pope gave the benediction to the people, aſſembled in the grand court before St. Peter's. An immenſe multitude filled that ſpacious and magnificent area.

The pope, ſeated in an open portable chair, in all his inſignia, was carried out of a large window, which opens on a balcony in front of the church. The ſilk hangings and gold trappings, with which the chair was covered, concealed the men who bore the chair from the ſpectators below; and his holineſs ſeemed to ſail forward from the window, ſelf-balanced in the air.

The inſtant he appeared, the muſic ſtruck up, the bells rung from every church, and the cannon roared from the caſtle of St. Angelo. During the intervals, the acclamations of the populace were heard from every ſide.

At length his holineſs roſe from his ſeat, and an inſtant and awful ſilence enſued. The multitude fell on their knees, with their hands and eyes raiſed towards the holy father, as to a benign deity. After a ſolemn pauſe, he pronounced the benediction with great fervour, elevating

his outſtretched arms, and then cloſing them together, and bringing them ſlowly towards his breaſt. Finally, he threw his arms open, waving them for ſome time, as if his intention was to ſcatter the benediction with impartiality among the people.

"No ceremony," ſays Dr. Moore, "can be better calculated for ſtriking the ſenſes, and impoſing on the underſtanding, than this of the pontiff giving the bleſſing from the balcony of St. Peter's. Had I not, in my early youth, received impreſſions highly unfavourable to the chief actor in this magnificent interlude, I ſhould have been in danger of paying him a reſpect, very inconſiſtent with the religion I profeſſed."

The year of jubilee, indulgencies are to be had at an eaſier rate than any other time; and ſome who can afford it, carry off enough, ſufficient not only to quit old ſcores, but to ſerve as an indemnifying fund for future tranſgreſſions.

There is one door into the church of St. Peter, called the Holy Door, which is always walled up, except on this diſtinguiſhed year; and even then no one is permitted to enter it, but in the humbleſt poſture. When the ceremonies are cloſed, the pope deſcends from his throne, with a golden trowel in his hand, and places the firſt brick in a little mortar; after which he returns to his ſeat, and the door is inſtantly cloſed by leſs hallowed workmen.

It is uſual for travellers of diſtinction to be introduced to the pope before they leave Rome. Our author and friends accordingly ſet out under the auſpices of an eccleſiaſtic, who uſually attends the Engliſh on ſuch occaſions.

Their conductor naturally concluded, that it would be moſt agreeable to them to have the ceremony of kiſſing the ſlipper diſpenſed with; and that his holineſs, indulgent to the prejudices of the Britiſh nation, did not inſiſt on that part of the ceremonial.

The Duke of Hamilton, however, thought kiſſing the toe was the only amuſing part of the ceremony; and if that was to be omitted, he would not be introduced at all; conſidering that, if the moſt ludicrous part of the farce was to be left out, no one would regard the remainder.

At laſt, having ſettled preliminaries, they were uſhered into the preſence of the ſovereign pontiff. They all bowed to the ground; the ſuppleſt had the happineſs to touch the ſacred ſlipper with their lips, and the leſs agile were within a few inches of that honour.

This being more than was expected, his holineſs ſeemed agreeably ſurpriſed; raiſed the duke with a ſmile, and converſed with him in an obliging manner, ſaying ſomething to each of the company. In leſs than twenty minutes they took their leave.

Next day the pope ſent his compliments to the duke, with a preſent of two medals, one of gold and the other of ſilver, on which the head of the pontiff was finely engraved.

The manner in which the generality of ſovereign princes paſs their time is far from being agreeable or amuſing. Slaves to the tireſome routine of etiquette; martyrs to the oppreſſive fatigue of pomp, conſtrained every levee day to walk round the ſame dull circle, to gratify the vanity of ſilly people, by whiſpering ſomething or nothing into the ears of each; obliged to wear

a ſmiling countenance, even when the heart is oppreſſed by ſadneſs; beſieged by the craving faces of thoſe who are more diſpleaſed at what is withheld, than grateful for favours received; ſurrounded as he is, by adepts in the art of ſimulation, all profeſſing the higheſt poſſible regard; how ſhall the puzzled monarch diſtinguiſh real from aſſumed attachment?

Add to all theſe inconveniences, being precluded from the delightful ſenſations that ſpring from diſintereſted friendſhip, ſweet equality of condition, and the gay careleſs enjoyments of ſocial life, and it muſt be acknowledged that all that is brilliant in ſovereign power, is not ſufficient to compenſate for ſuch reſtraints, ſuch dangers, and ſuch deprivations.

But if this is the common fate of ſovereigns, how wretched muſt the pope of Rome be, who is ſubjected to all, without the pleaſures to which temporal princes are admitted. No wife, no family, no fond endearments, even in the hours of retirement, help him to ſupport the tædium of life. His court is dull and formal; if a hypocrite, he is under continual reſtraint: if a bigot, he is ſtill leſs to be envied. He knows he is laughed at by one half of the Catholics, and all the Proteſtants, and totally diſregarded by the reſt of mankind. His throne may perhaps be filled by his greateſt enemy; and his children—if he have any—muſt be left to the care of others, for he cannot own them. If this picture does not depreſs the ambition of wearing the tiara, it is impoſſible any thing can; and we muſt ſuppoſe that power has greater charms than all the other bleſſings of life united.

The

The inhabitants of this country move with a ſlow, compoſed pace; and though not deſtitute of vivacity, there is a grave ſolemnity in their manner. In walking the ſtreets of Rome, however, one ſees features expreſſive of reflection, ſenſe, and genius; and in the very loweſt ranks there are countenances which announce minds fit for the higheſt and moſt important ſituations, had education and fortune brought their abilities into action.

Strangers, on their arrival at Rome, form no high idea of the beauty of the women, from the ſpecimens they ſee in the fathionable circles, to which they are at firſt introduced.

There are ſome exceptions, however, but it is generally among the citizens and the lower claſſes that female beauty ſhines here.

Beauty, doubtleſs, is infinitely varied, and happily for mankind, their taſtes and opinions are equally various. Notwithſtanding this variety, however, a ſtyle of face is in ſome meaſure peculiar to every nation of Europe.

The prevailing character of the moſt admired female heads in Rome, is a great profuſion of dark hair encroaching on the forehead; a noſe generally aquiline, or continued in a ſtraight line from the lower part of the brow; a full and ſhort upper lip; the eyes large and of a ſparkling black.

The complexion, for the moſt part, is of a clear brown, ſometimes fair, but ſeldom florid, or of that bright fairneſs ſo common in England and Saxony. At an early period, the women, who have the moſt expreſſive features, are apt to acquire ſomething of a maſculine air; and the appearance of youth flies before its time.

With

With countenances ſo favourable for the pencil, it might be ſuppoſed that portrait-painting was much encouraged in Rome; but this is by no means the caſe. In many capital collections there is perhaps only the coarſe portrait of the reigning pope; and as ſoon as he dies, his very picture muſt give way to his ſucceſſor.

But though the Italians themſelves are not fond of multiplying faces, the artiſts of Rome, who adopt this branch, are ſure to be encouraged by the Engliſh and other travellers; not becauſe they are more eminent than their reſpective countrymen; but becauſe it is not ſo eaſy for every one to ſhew a head by Pompeio Battoni, the beſt Italian painter of the age.

Except during the carnival, no theatrical entertainments are permitted in this city; but they are then attended with a degree of ardour, proportionate to the reſtraint. Every kind of amuſement, indeed, in this gay ſeaſon, is followed with the greateſt eagerneſs. Towards the cloſe of it, all is frolic and ſport. The citizens appear in the ſtreets, maſked, in the characters of harlequins, pantaloons, punchinellos, and all the fantaſtic variety of a maſquerade. The coachmen generally affect the dreſſes of women, and are painted and patched in the moſt extravagant manner. However dull theſe fellows may be in their natural dreſſes, no ſooner do they appear in their adopted one, than they are conſidered as very pleaſant fellows, and are ſure to excite a laugh.

The Corſo is the grand ſcene of theſe maſquerades. It is crowded every night with people of all ranks, and in every ſtyle. A kind of civil war is carried on by the company in paſſing each other.

other. The greateſt mark of attention you can pay your friends is, to throw a handful of little white balls, reſembling ſugar plumbs, full in their faces.

Sometimes two or three open carriages on a ſide draw up, and engage in this kind of warfare: even the ladies diſtribute this ſmall ſhot with the moſt determined good will—not to do harm.

Maſking and horſe-racing are confined to the laſt eight days of the carnival, which is kept up for ſix weeks. The ſerious opera is moſt frequented during this period, by people of faſhion, who ſeem to pay more attention to the performance than the grandees of Venice. Even the lower ranks preſerve a perfect ſilence, which is only broken by burſts of applauſe, or murmurs of pleaſure.

"At certain airs," ſays our author, "ſilent enjoyment was expreſſed in every countenance: at others the hands were claſped together, the eyes half ſhut, and the breath drawn in with a prolonged ſigh, as if the ſoul were expiring in a torrent of delight. One young woman in the pit cried out—"O God, where am I! what pleaſure raviſhes my ſoul!"

Though the ſerious opera is in the higheſt eſtimation, yet the opera buffas, or burlettas, are not entirely neglected by the great. Harlequin, pantaloon, and punchinello are only the amuſements of children, or the very loweſt rabble.

No female performers are allowed here; and their place is ill ſupplied by wretched caſtratos. Surely the horrid practice, which is encouraged by this manner of ſupplying the place of female ſingers, is a greater outrage on religion and morality

rality, than could be produced by the evils intended to be prevented. Is it poſſible to believe that purity of ſentiment will be preſerved by producing eunuchs on the ſtage! It is more likely to have a different effect.

At laſt, having fully ſatisfied their curioſity for the preſent, our travellers left Rome, and proceeded through a ſilent, deſerted, and unwholeſome country to Marino, about twelve miles diſtant.

From Marino, the road runs, for ſeveral miles, over craggy mountains. In aſcending Mons Albanus, they were charmed with a fine view of the country towards the ſea, Oſtia, Antium, and the lake Albano. This is evidently volcanic ground: the lake of Nemi ſeems, like that of Albano, to have been the cavity of a crater.

Their next ſtage was Veletri, an inconſiderable town, ſituated on a hill, where, according to ſome, Auguſtus was born, though Suetonius allows this honour to Rome. In the middle of the ſquare of this town is a bronze ſtatue of Urban VIII.

Deſcending from Veletri, by a rough road, bordered by vineyards and fruit trees, they traverſed an inſalubrious plain to Sermonetta, between which and Caſa Nuova, are the ruins of the Three Taverns, mentioned by St. Paul, in the Acts.

Between Caſa Nuova and Piperno, there is little to amuſe, except what ariſes from the contemplation of ancient ſcenes, and hiſtorical incidents. Near Piperno is an abbey, called Foſſa Nuova, ſituated on the ruins of the little town of Forum Appii, mentioned by Horace, in the account of his journey to Brunduſium.

They next reached Terracina, formerly Auxur. The principal church was orignally a temple of

Jupiter,

Jupitur, who had the epithet of Auxurus, from this place.

Near Terracina they again fell in with the Appian Way, and beheld with aſtoniſhment the depth of rock, that had been cut, to render it more commodious. This famous road was begun in 441 by Appius Claudius, the cenſor, and carried all the way from Rome to Capua, in a ſtraight line, through every obſtruction; but it is now impaſſable through the Pontine Marſh, on account of the noxious effluvia.

Terracina is the laſt town of the Eccleſiaſtical, and Fundi the firſt of the Neapolitan, dominions. This laſt town ſtands on a ſheltered plain, which is ſeldom the caſe with Italian towns.

Continuing their route along the Appian Way, they came to Mola di Gaeta, a town built on the ruins of the ancient Formiæ. Cicero had a villa near this placè; and it was on this coaſt where that illuſtrious orator was murdered in his litter, as he was endeavouring to eſcape into Greece.

The fortreſs of Gaeta is built on a promontory about three miles from Mola. Here they ſhew a chaſm in a rock, which is ſaid to have been miraculouſly ſplit at the paſſion of our Saviour. A certain perſon having been told on what occaſion the rent took place, ſtruck the palm of his hand on the marble, declaring, he could no more believe that ſtory, than that his hand would leave an impreſſion on the rock; on which, to his terror and confuſion, the ſtone yielded like wax, and retains the print to this day,

"Nothing," our author juſtly obſerves, "is more injurious to the cauſe of truth, than to attempt to ſupport it by fiction. Many evidences

of

of the propriety of this remark occur in the courſe of a tour through Italy."

This rock is much reſorted to by pilgrims; and the ſeamen on the coaſt frequently provide themſelves with little bits of the marble, which they conſtantly wear in their pockets, as a preſervative againſt drowning.

In the caſtle is ſhewn the ſkeleton of the famous Bourbon, conſtable of France, who was killed in the ſervice of Charles V. as he ſcaled the walls of Rome.

From Mola they were conducted, by the Appian Way, over the fertile fields waſhed by the Liris, on the banks of which ſome ruins of the ancient Minturnæ are ſtill to be ſeen. After Manlius Torquatius had offered up his ſon as a ſacrifice to military diſcipline, and his colleague Decius had devoted himſelf to death, the broken army of the Latins aſſembled at Minturnæ, and were a ſecond time defeated by Manlius.

In the moraſſes of Minturnæ, Caius Marius, in the ſeventieth year of his age, was taken, and brought a priſoner to that city. The magiſtrates ordered an aſſaſſin to put him to death; but the fierce veteran diſarmed him with a look.

Leaving the Garilagno, or Liris, they paſſed the riſing ground where the ancient Sinueſſa ſtood, the ſcene of meeting between Plotinus, Virgil, and Horace, as deſcribed in one of the epiſtles of the latter.

New Capua is a ſmall unimportant town. The ancient city lay two miles off. The ruins of the amphitheatre give ſome idea of the ancient grandeur of that city: indeed, at one time, it is ſaid to have vied with Carthage and Rome.

The country between Capua and Naples diſplays a varied ſcene of laviſh fertility, and, with great propriety, obtains the appellation of Campania Felix, if the richeſt and moſt generous ſoil, with the mildeſt and moſt agreeable climate, are ſufficient to conſtitute the happineſs of man.

The day after their arrival at Naples, they waited on Sir William Hamilton, the Britiſh miniſter, who had unfortunately gone on a hunting party with the king that morning; and as the laws of etiquette did not allow that they ſhould delay making the uſual round of viſits, the Portugueſe ambaſſador undertook, at Lady Hamilton's deſire, to accompany our travellers on this important tour.

Naples was founded by the Greeks; and its ſituation is one proof, among thouſands, of the fine taſte of that ingenious people. The bay is thirty miles in circumference, and twelve in diameter. The town is built at the bottom of this bay, in the form of a vaſt amphitheatre, ſloping from the hills to the ſea. The views, on all ſides, are the moſt beautiful that the eye can behold, or the fancy conceive.

Independent of its happy ſituation, Naples is certainly a very beautiful city. Though it cannot vie with Rome in the number of its palaces, or in the grandeur and magnificence of its churches, the private houſes, in general, are better built, and more commodious, and the ſtreets broader and better paved. The Strada di Toledo, at Naples, excels the Corſo at Rome in beauty, as well as ſituation.

The houſes in general are five or ſix ſtories high, and flat at the top, with a number of flower vaſes, which have a charming effect. The air is

ſoft and bland; and, in fact, this may be called the native country of the zephyrs.

The fortreſs of St. Elmo is built on a mountain of the ſame name; and commands the whole town. A little lower, is a convent of Carthuſians, in one of the moſt enchanting ſpots imaginable; and much expence has been laviſhed, to render the building, the apartments, and the gardens, equal to the ſituation. To beſtow large ſums of money in adorning the retreat of men, who have abandoned the world, for the expreſs purpoſe of paſſing the remainder of their lives in ſelf-denial and mortification, ſeems, at leaſt, to be ill-judged; and, perhaps, it might have been applied in a variety of ways, to much more beneficial and laudable purpoſes.

Though the ſituation of Naples is moſt propitious for commerce, and no kingdom produces the neceſſaries and luxuries of life in greater profuſion, yet trade languiſhes, and it is indebted to France and England for the beſt ſilks and woollen cloths.

The chief manufactures here, are ſilk ſtockings, ſoap, ſnuff-boxes of tortoiſe-ſhell and lava, tables, and ornamental furniture of marble. The Neapolitan embroidery is preferred to that of France, and macaroni is here made in the greateſt perfection. They alſo excel in liquors and confections, which are ſold at a very high price. One, called Diabolonis, is of a very hot and ſtimulating, nature; by no means neceſſary for a Neapolitan conſtitution.

The inhabitants of this city are computed at three hundred and fifty thouſand. In London or Paris, the uſual noiſe in the ſtreets is that of carriages; but in Naples, where they talk with great

great vivacity, and where they have little elſe to do, the noiſe of carriages is completely drowned in the tumultuous clack of human voices. In the midſt of all this idleneſs, few riots or outrages take place, which may be aſcribed chiefly to the natural quiet temper and habitual ſobriety of the Italians. Iced water and lemonade are among the luxuries of the loweſt vulgar; and they are carried about and ſold by the halfpenny-worth. The half-naked lazzarone is as often tempted to ſpend his ſmall pittance on this bewitching beverage, as the moſt diſſolute of the low people in London to throw away their wages on gin and brandy; ſo that the ſame extravagance, that cools the mob of one city, tends to inflame that of the other.

Conſidering the population, there is no city in the world with fewer productive hands; but the number of prieſts, monks, fiddlers, lawyers, nobility, footmen, and lazzarones, exceed all proportion: the laſt, alone, are computed at forty thouſand. If theſe poor fellows are unemployed, it is not their fault, as they are continually running from one ſtreet to another, begging for work.

The Neapolitan nobility are exceſſively fond of ſplendor and ſhow. This appears in the brilliancy of their equipages, the number of their attendants, the richneſs of their dreſs, and the grandeur of their titles.

It is ſaid there are about one hundred Neapolitan princes, and ſtill a greater number of dukes in this kingdom. Six or ſeven of theſe have eſtates, perhaps, from ten to twelve thouſand pounds ſterling a year; but the great majority have fortunes of about half that value, and the

annual income of many does not exceed one or two thouſand.

With reſpect to the inferior orders of the nobility, they are very poor. Some counts and marquiſſes have not above three or four hundred pounds a year; and not a few enjoy a title without any eſtate whatever.

When the magnificence of their entertainments, and the ſplendor of their equipages are conſidered, it is aſtoniſhing that the richeſt of the Neapolitan nobility can ſupport the expences.

Soon after their arrival, our travellers dined at the prince of Franca Villa's, where there were forty perſons at table. It was meagre day, and the dinner conſiſted entirely of fiſh and vegetables; yet it was the moſt magnificent entertainment that could be conceived; the fiſh were dreſſed in a great variety of diſhes, and the fruits and wines were in the greateſt profuſion, and of the choiceſt qualities.

They paſſed through a dozen large rooms, before they arrived at the dining room; and each perſon at table had one of the prince's domeſtics behind his chair; while numerous other ſervants were ſeen in the adjoining apartments.

No eſtate in England could ſupport ſuch a retinue, paid and fed as Engliſh ſervants are; but here wages are very moderate indeed, and the greater number of the men ſervants, belonging to the firſt families, give their attendance through the day only, and find their own lodging and proviſions. It muſt likewiſe be remarked, that few of the nobles give entertainments, and that moſt of them live with a frugal economy, except in articles of ſhow.

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When it is not the ſeaſon of the opera, people of faſhion generally paſs part of the evening at the Corſo on the ſea-ſhore. This is the great ſcene of ſplendor and parade. The carriages are painted, gilt, varniſhed, and lined, in a richer and more beautiful manner than is uſual in other countries; and they are often drawn by ſix, and ſometimes by eight horſes.

It is the mode here to have two running footmen before the carriage, and three or four ſervants, all very richly dreſſed in liveries, behind. The ladies and gentlemen within the coaches glitter in all the brilliancy of lace, embroidery, and jewels.

On gala days, there are particular carriages, with very large windows, that the ſpectators may enjoy a full view of the parties. On ſuch occaſions the harneſs and decorations of the horſes are the moſt ſhewy that can be imagined. In ſhort, it would ſeem, ſays Dr. Moore, that the horſes' heads, manes, and tails had been adorned by the ſame hands that dreſſed the ladies, and not by ordinary grooms.

"The king of Naples," ſays our traveller, "is about twenty-ſix or twenty-ſeven years of age. He is a prince of great activity of body, and a good conſtitution; and frequently indulges in hunting and other exerciſes; and as a proof of his natural talents, he always ſucceeds in whatever purſuit he applies himſelf to. He is very fond of reviewing his troops, and is perfectly maſter of the whole myſtery of the manual exerciſe.

"As a ſhot, he is moſt excellent; and his uncommon ſucceſs at this diverſion, is thought to have rouſed the jealouſy of his moſt Catholic ma-

jeſty, who alſo values himſelf much on his ſkill as a markſman.

" A gentleman, who came lately from Madrid, told me," ſays Dr. Moore, " that the king on ſome occaſion had read a letter, which he had juſt received from his ſon at Naples, wherein he complained of his bad ſucceſs on a ſhooting party, having killed no more than eighty birds in a day; and turning to his courtiers, obſerved how happy he would think himſelf if he could kill forty.

" Fortunate would it be for mankind, if the happineſs of their princes could be purchaſed at ſo eaſy a rate! and thrice fortunate for the generous people of Spain, if the family connections of their monarch never ſeduce him into a more ruinous war, than that with the beaſts of the field, or the fowls of the air."

His Neapolitan majeſty poſſeſſes many accompliſhments beſides thoſe which have been enumerated. No king in Europe is ſuppoſed to underſtand the game of billiards better. I had the pleaſure, ſays Dr. Moore, of ſeeing him ſtrike the moſt brilliant ſtroke that perhaps was ever ſtruck by a crowned head.

The cabinet of this court is ſuppoſed to be entirely guided by that of Spain. In domeſtic life, the king of Naples is an amiable character. The queen is a moſt beautiful woman, and ſeems to poſſeſs the affability, good humour, and benevolence which characterize the Auſtrian family.

The feudal government of the nobles over their vaſſals, ſtill ſubſiſts in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; conſequently the peaſants are poor and diſpirited, and the landowners do not receive half the emolument from their eſtates that they might, by letting them to freemen. But the love

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of ſuperiority riſes above the proſpects of intereſt; and this ungenerous ſpirit ſtill pervades too large a portion of Europe.

Though the Neapolitan nobility ſtill retain the ancient feudal ſuperiority over the peaſants, yet their perſonal importance depends, in a great meaſure, on the favour of the king; who, on mere pretence, can confine them to their own eſtates, or impriſon them at pleaſure; and who, without any alleged offence, can mortify them in the moſt ſenſible manner, by not inviting them to the amuſements of the court, or withholding his ſmiles, when they attend there on any ordinary occaſion. Relying entirely on his ſtanding army*, he has little to fear from the reſentment of the nobles, even ſhould they be generally united; for as the nobles have loſt the affections of the peaſants, their oppoſition even to the moſt arbitrary meaſures, would only expoſe them to a double danger from the prince and the people.

Neither the civil nor military eſtabliſhments in this country open any very tempting field for the ambition of the nobles, whoſe education is uſually adapted to the parts of life they are likely to fill. Their fortunes and titles deſcend to them, independent of any effort of their own. Literary diſtinctions are beneath their regard; it is therefore not thought expedient to cloud the playful innocence of their childhood, or the amiable gaiety of their youth, with ſevere ſtudies.

In ſome other countries, a ſmall portion of knowledge is thought becoming for a young man of rank, and they generally pick up a little by ſtudy,

* The late revolution in France has ſhewn that ſtanding armies are little to be depended on.

in converſation, or in travel. But the nobility of Naples ſeldom ſtir from home, and they have few opportunities of enlarging and improving their minds, from incidental avocation or particular purſuits.

The citizens of Naples form a ſociety of their own, perfectly diſtinct from the nobility; and ſeem to divide their time between buſineſs and pleaſure, in a very agreeable manner.

In the moſt reſpectable claſs of citizens, are comprehended the lawyers, of which there is a great number. The moſt eminent of this profeſſion hold a kind of intermediate rank between the nobility and citizens; the reſt are on a level with the phyſicians, the principal merchants, and the artiſts, none of whom can amaſs large fortunes; but they are ſatisfied to make the beſt of a moderate income. England is perhaps the only nation in Europe where ſome individuals of every profeſſion, even of the loweſt, find it poſſible to accumulate great fortunes; the effect of which is, that the ſon frequently deſpiſes the profeſſion of his father, commences gentleman, and diſſipates in a few years, what coſt the labour of a life to accumulate. In the principal cities of Germany, however, we find that the anceſtors of many of thoſe citizens, who are moſt eminent in their particular profeſſions, have tranſmitted the art to them through ſeveral generations, by which means it has received every poſſible improvement.

The number of prieſts, monks, and eccleſiaſtics, of various denominations, that ſwarm in this city, is prodigious, and the proviſion appropriated to their uſe is as ample. It is ſaid that the clergy are in poſſeſſion of more than one-third of the re-

venue of the whole kingdom, over and above what is made by begging, by inſinuation, and addreſs.

The unproductive wealth, lodged in the churches and convents of this city, amounts to an amazing value. Though the churches of Naples are leſs ſplendid than thoſe of Rome, they are reckoned vaſtly more rich in ſilver and golden crucifixes, veſſels, and various other implements.

This wealth, however, is as uſeleſs, as if it ſtill remained in the mines of Peru; and the greateſt part of it, ſurely affords as little comfort to the clergy and monks, as to any other part of the community.

The eccleſiaſtics here live very much in ſociety, both with the nobles and citizens. Self denial does not ſeem to be one of the virtues they aim at. All of them, the monks not excepted, attend the theatre, and ſeem to join moſt cordially in other diverſions and amuſements; and the common people are no ways offended at this.

It is ſaid that a conſiderable diminution, in the number of monks, has taken place ſince the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits, and ſince it was permitted to quit the cowl; but ſtill, there ſeems no reaſon to complain of any deficiency in this order of men. The richeſt and moſt commodious convents in Europe, both for males and females, are in this city and its environs.

Some of the friars ſtudy phyſic and ſurgery, and practiſe theſe arts with great applauſe. Each convent has an apothecary's ſhop appertaining to it, where medicines are diſtributed gratis to the poor, and ſold to thoſe who can afford to pay for them.

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For

For theſe reaſons, the monks in general are in greater favour with the people than the ſecular clergy; but if half the ſtories circulated of them are true, they are the greateſt profligates and debauchees in the world. Indeed it is very probable they are quite as ſenſual as they are devout.

The lazzaroni, or blackguards, have already been mentioned as forming a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of Naples; and on ſome occaſions they have, for a ſhort time, uſurped the government. The greateſt part of them have no dwelling-houſe; but lodge at night under porticoes, piazzas, or any ſhelter they can find.

Such of them as have wives and children, live in the ſuburbs of Naples, near Panſilippo, in huts, or in caverns, or chambers dug out of that mountain. Some gain a livelihood by fiſhing, others by carrying burdens, and many are employed on errands or other menial ſervices.

As their employment is neither certain nor ſufficiently productive to maintain them, the bread and ſoup, diſtributed at the doors of the convents, ſupply the deficiency. This unhappy race of men has been much ſtigmatized for idleneſs and other aſſociated vices; but ſurely the greateſt reflection lies on government, in not taking care to employ them in ſome regular, profitable way.

Dr. Moore ſays, that ſo far from being licentious and turbulent, as has been objected to them, he cannot help thinking them too tame and ſubmiſſive. They bear the inſolence of the nobility as paſſively as peaſants fixed to the ſoil. A coxcomb of a Volanti, tricked out in his fantaſtical dreſs, or any of the liveried ſlaves of the great, make no ceremony of treating theſe poor fellows with all the inſolence and inſenſibility, natural to

their

their maſters; and for no viſible reaſon, but to ſhew their ſuperiority. Inſtead of calling to them to make way, a ſtroke acroſs the ſhoulders with the cane of the running footman is the uſual warning they receive. Nothing animates them to inſurrection but a ſcarcity of bread: every thing elſe they bear as if it were their charter. In ſhort, when we conſider their deſtitution of almoſt every thing that renders life valuable, and the affluence or parade of others continually reminding them of their own abject ſtate, we muſt be aſtoniſhed at their patience.

"Let the prince," exclaims Dr. Moore, with feelings that do him honour, "be diſtinguiſhed by ſplendor and magnificence; let the rich and the great have their luxuries; but in the name of humanity, let the poor, who are willing to labour, have food in abundance to ſatisfy the cravings of nature, and raiment to defend them from the inclemencies of the weather!"

Our travellers made ſeveral viſits to the muſeum at Portici, principally to view the antiquities dug out of Herculaneum and Pompeia.

All the paintings that have hitherto been found in theſe ſubterraneous receſſes, were executed on the ſtucco which lined the walls. Many of them have been removed with great addreſs, and are preſerved in glaſs caſes. The colours are very lively, and the ſubjects are eaſily made out by thoſe who are acquainted with the Grecian hiſtory and mythology. Among the reſt are a Chion teaching Achilles to play on the lyre, Ariadne Deſerted, the Judgment of Paris, and Theſeus's victory over the Minotaur.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that theſe are maſterpieces of antient painting. The decorations of the

the walls of houſes, however fine, are ſeldom to be regarded as finiſhed performances.

The elegant forms, the admirable workmanſhip of the ornamental furniture and domeſtic utenſils, in ſilver and other metals, ſufficiently atteſt the fertile imagination, and exquiſite execution of the ancient artiſts.

Many of the manuſcripts found at Herculaneum have been carried to Madrid; but ſtill a greater number remain at Portici. Great pains and much ingenuity have been diſplayed in ſeparating and unrolling the ſheets without deſtroying the writing. This has ſucceeded to a certain degree; but, in ſpite of all their attention, many places are obliterated.

The manuſcripts, hitherto unrolled and copied, are in the Greek language, and none of them are on very important ſubjects*.

Herculaneum and Pompeia were deſtroyed by the ſame eruption of Mount Veſuvius, about one thouſand ſeven hundred years ago. The former was a town of much conſequence, and by ſubſequent torrents of lava, is rendered infinitely more difficult to be cleared than the latter. It is, in fact, from ſeventy to one hundred feet below the ſurface of the earth, and a new city has actually been built on the lava of the laſt eruption; from whence the difficulty of obtaining the ancient treaſures has been very conſiderably increaſed.

Though Pompeia was not diſcovered till many years after Herculaneum, yet it is only about twelve feet below the ground; and the earth, cinders, and pumice ſtones, with which it is covered, are ſo light and ſo little tenacious, that

* One of them, by Philodemus, on the ſubject of muſic, has lately been publiſhed.

one

one half of the lazzaroni of Naples, in our author's opinion, would be ſufficient to lay the whole open within the ſpace of a year.

Hitherto, however, only one ſtreet, and a few detached buildings, have been cleared. The ſtreet is well paved, and cauſeways are raiſed on each ſide for the conveniency of the foot paſſengers. The traces of wheels are to be ſeen on the pavement. The houſes are ſmall, and in a very different ſtyle from the modern; but they give an idea of neatneſs and conveniency. Moſt of them are built on an uniform plan, and have one ſmall room from the paſſage, which is conjectured to have been a ſhop. The nature of the traffic carried on at one particular houſe is indicated by a figure in alto relievo, of a very expreſſive kind, placed over the door.

In one part of Pompeia is a rectangular building, with a colonnade towards the court, in the ſtyle of the Royal Exchange in London. This has every appearance of a barrack and guard-room. The pillars are of brick, covered with ſhining ſtucco, elegantly fluted. The ſcrawlings and drawings on the walls are ſuch as might naturally be expected, where ſoldiers were the deſigners, and ſwords the engraving tools. Abundance of names are inſcribed on various parts of the wall, according to the univerſal cuſtom of the humbleſt candidates for fame in all ages and countries; and here they have outlived the proudeſt monuments of art.

At a conſiderable diſtance from the barrack, is a building known, by its inſcription, for a temple of Iſis. There is nothing very magnificent in its appearance; the pillars are of brick, ſtuccoed like the guard-room. The beſt paintings

hitherto found at Pompeia are thoſe of this temple, which have been removed to Portici.

There is one villa without the walls on a much larger ſcale than the reſt of the buildings. In a cellar belonging to this houſe, are a number of amphoræ, or earthen veſſels, moſt of them filled with a kind of red ſubſtance, ſuppoſed to have been wine.

Some of the unfortunate family, it appears, took ſhelter in this place from the deſtructive ſhower which overwhelmed the town. Four ſkeletons of grown people, and as many of children, were found here. In one room the body of a man with an axe in his hand was diſcovered: he had probably been endeavouring to cut a paſſage into the air. Already he had broken and piereed the wall, but the ſuperincumbent rubbiſh had arreſted his progreſs.

Few ſkeletons are found in the ſtreets, but a conſiderable number in the houſes; from which it may be conjectured, that they had time to retire.

"It is impoſſible," ſays Dr. Moore, "to view theſe ſkeletons, and reflect on the dreadful cataſtrophe without horror and compaſſion. We cannot think of the inhabitants of a whole town being deſtroyed at once, without imagining that their fate was uncommonly ſevere. But are not the inhabitants of all the towns, then exiſting, of whom we think without any emotion of pity, as completely dead as thoſe of Pompeia? And could we take them one by one, and examine the nature of their deaths, and the circumſtances attending each individual, it is probable the balance of ſufferings would be found moſt light in this lamented place.

At

At Naples our author met with a kind of ſtreet orators, who recited paſſages from Arioſto, for the entertainment of the populace, and acted the different ſentiments with much expreſſion, explaining difficult paſſages as they went along. This practice of rehearſing the verſes of the poets, it ſeems, is much leſs in vogue than formerly.

At Venice, mountebanks frequently gain a livelihood, by amuſing the rabble with wonderful and romantic tales in proſe; and to arreſt their attention, they generally fix on ſome legend or hiſtory, connected with their own country.

In Rome, thoſe ſtreet orators ſometimes entertain the audience with intereſting paſſages of real hiſtory. "I remember," ſays Dr. Moore, "having heard one in particular give a full and true account, how the bloody heathen emperor, Nero ſet fire to the city of Rome, and ſat at a window of his golden palace, playing on a harp, while the town was burning. After which the hiſtorian proceeded to relate how this unnatural monſter murdered his own mother; and he concluded with a detail of the circumſtances attending Nero's own end.

The buſineſs of ſtreet oratory, while it amuſes the populace, and keeps them from leſs innocent paſtimes, gives them, at the ſame time, ſome general ideas of hiſtory. Street orators, therefore, are not without their uſe; and perhaps are more ſerviceable than thoſe who deal in extemporaneous verſe, who are called Improuviſatori.

Some of theſe compoſitions, however, are truly admirable. The poetic, prompt effuſions of Signora Corilla are admired by perſons of real taſte. It is ſaid that the Italian language admits of a greater facility in verſification than any other; but verſi-

fication is not poetry, and thoſe who ſucceed in joining elegant ſentiment with rhyme, muſt naturally be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs much genius, particularly when the ſtrains are unpremeditated.

Naples is celebrated for the fineſt opera in Europe. When our traveller was here, it was not the ſeaſon; but the common people enjoy *their* opera at all times. Little concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic are heard every evening in the principal ſtreets; and young men and women are ſeen dancing to the muſic of ambulatory performers all along the bay.

To a mere ſpectator, the amuſements of the common people afford more delight than thoſe of the great; becauſe the former ſeem to enjoy them the moſt. This is every where the caſe, except in France; where the high appear as happy as thoſe of the middle ranks, and the rich are as merry as the poor.

In moſt countries, however, the people of rank and fortune flock to every ſpecies of entertainment, without ſeeming to enjoy it; while the poor, who are precluded from moſt, have cheap pleaſures of their own, which they appear to enjoy with peculiar reliſh.

In England thoſe, who wiſh to be thought of the ton, imitate the mawkiſh inſipidity of their ſuperiors in rank, and imagine it diſtinguiſhes them from the vulgar, to ſuppreſs all the natural expreſſions of pity, joy, or admiration, and to ſeem on all occaſions in complete apathy.

It is not ſo at Naples, at leaſt among the populace. A fellow with a maſk on his face, and and a guitar in his hand, ſinging to his own wretched inſtrument, will attract crowds of all ages. "I have ſeen," ſays Dr. Moore, "the

old

old women liſtening with their diſtaffs, ſpinning a kind of coarſe flax; their grandchildren ſprawling at their feet; men and wives, youths and maids, ſitting in a circle, with their eyes fixed on the muſician, who kept them laughing for hours together at his merry ſtories, which he enlivened occaſionally with tunes on the guitar.

Our travellers made two viſits to Mount Veſuvius. Leaving the carriage at Herculaneum, they mounted mules, and were attended by three guides, who generally accompany ſtrangers on this expedition.

Being arrived at the hermitage of Il Salvatore, they found the road ſo broken and rough, that they were glad to diſmount, and to leave their mules at the hermitage. They then walked over various fields of lava, the produce of different eruptions, all which were diſtinguiſhed by their guides.

The laſt eruption, though not very conſiderable, had happened about twelve months before. The lava was ſtill ſmoking, and in ſome places appeared of a glowing red colour. In other places, notwithſtanding it was become perfectly black and ſolid, it ſtill retained ſuch a degree of heat, that they could not ſtand on it for any length of time.

Advancing, they perceived a ſmall ſtream of the ſame kind gliding from beneath the black cruſt on which they ſtood. The idea of this cruſt giving way, made them ſhift their ground with precipitation; on which one of their guides called out Animo, Animo, Signori! and immediately jumped on the incruſtation, to ſhew its ſolidity. They afterwards threw large ſtones on the flowing lava, on the ſurface of which they floated

like cork, and on thrufting a ftick into the ftream, it required confiderable exertion to make it enter.

Advancing to that part of the mountain which is almoft perpendicular, they laid hold of the belts of their guides; but as the cinders, afhes, and other droffy materials are continually giving way, the foot finks backwards more than half of every ftep, and the fatigue of afcending the hill is more than doubled.

Thofe, therefore, who fet out briflkly at firft, and do not hufband their ftrength, are wearied before they can reach the top: it is thus when youth wafte their vigour in early exceffes, and the remaining journey of life is fpent in unavailing reflections on their imprudence.

To view Mount Vefuvius to the greateft advantage, it is neceffary to fet out in the evening; and the darker the fucceeding night is, fo much more noble is the fpectacle. By the time our travellers reached the top of the volcano, there was hardly any other light than that which iffued, by uninterrupted flafhes, from the crater.

Thefe appeared much more confiderable than they had imagined, while at a greater diftance. Each of them was preceded by a noife like thunder, within the mountain; a column of thick black fmoke then iffued out with great rapidity, followed by a blaze of light; and immediately after a fhower of cinders and afhes, or red-hot ftones were thrown into the fky. This was fucceeded by a calm of fome minutes, during which they faw nothing but a moderate quantity of fmoke and flame, which gradually increafed, and terminated in thunder and explofion as before.

When

When they arrived, their guides placed them at a reaſonable diſtance from the mouth of the volcano, and on the ſide from whence the wind came. Thus they were not incommoded by the ſmoke, nor in danger of being hurt, except when the exploſion was very violent.

Having remained ſome time where they were poſted by their guides, the company grew bolder, as they became familiarized to the ſcene; and ſome made the circuit of the crater, though not without riſk.

Conſidering the raſh and frolickſome diſpoſition of ſome who viſit this mountain, it is remarkable, ſays our author, that ſo few accidents happen. Some Engliſh gentlemen have been known to bet who could approach neareſt, and remain longeſt near the mouth of the volcano.

A very dreadful accident had nearly happened while our travellers remained there. The bank, on which ſome of them ſtood, to look into the volcano, actually fell in before they left the ſummit of the mountain. This made an impreſſion on all preſent, and inclined them to abandon ſo treacherous a vicinity.

The ſteep hill of droſs and cinders which they had ſo much difficulty in aſcending, they deſcended with rapidity; but as the night was dark, they had more difficulty in paſſing over the rough valley between that and the hermitage, near which the mules waited.

Before they reſumed their journey to Naples, they were refreſhed at the bottom of the mountain with ſome glaſſes of a very generous and pleaſant wine, called Lachrima Chriſti, which forms a ſtriking contraſt with its name.

In

In walking the ſtreets of Naples one day, they met ſome people carrying the corpſe of a man on an open bier, and others following in proceſſion. The deceaſed was a tradeſman, whoſe widow had beſtowed the utmoſt attention in dreſſing him to the greateſt advantage on this ſolemn occaſion. He had on a perfectly new ſuit of clothes, a laced hat upon his head, ruffles, his hair finely powdered, and a large blooming noſegay in his left hand, while his right was gracefully ſtuck in his ſide.

It is the cuſtom at Naples to carry the dead to church in full dreſs, ſoon after their death; and for their neareſt relations to diſplay the magnitude of their grief, by the magnificent manner in which they decorate the corpſe. When the body arrives in the church, the ceremony is read over it. That being performed, it is carried home, ſtripped of its fine clothes to the very ſhirt, and interred privately.

After obſerving various other cuſtoms of the Neapolitans, in ſome of which a degree of refinement and brutality, of folly and ſenſe, was intermixed, on the 1ſt of May, they had an opportunity of ſeeing the famous miracle of the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood performed.

This ſaint is the great patron of Naples; and it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that his influence muſt be thought very conſiderable, or he would not be truſted with the care of a city like this, which is threatened every moment with deſtruction from Mount Veſuvius.

St. Januarius ſuffered martyrdom about the end of the third century. When he was beheaded, a pious lady of this city caught about an ounce of his blood, which has been carefully preſerved

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ever ſince, in a ſolid form, without the leaſt diminution of its weight; and, on being brought near the head of the ſaint, it immediately liquefies, as a mark of veneration. This miracle is performed thrice a year, and is conſidered by the Neapolitans as one of the firſt magnitude. Indeed ſome of the zealous Catholics are ready to reſt the truth of their doctrine on this trick*; which, though it cannot be ſatisfactorily explained, but by the real agents, yet we may with certainty pronounce a groſs impoſition on the credulity of men.

The head and blood of the ſaint are kept in a kind of preſs, with folding doors of ſilver, in the chapel of St. Januarius. The real head is not expoſed to the eyes of the public, but incloſed in a large ſilver buſt, gilt and enriched with jewels of high value. The blood is kept in a ſmall repoſitory by itſelf

"About mid-day," ſays Dr. Moore, "the buſt, incloſing the real head, was brought with great ſolemnity, and placed under a kind of portico, open on all ſides, that the people might have the comfort of beholding the miracle."

The proceſſions of that ſolemn day were innumerable; and all the eccleſiaſtics were dreſſed in their beſt robes. The monks were muſtered under their particular banners; and a ſplendid croſs was carried before each proceſſion, and the images

* "O illuſtrious memorial!" exclaims one; "O irrefragable truth! Come hither, ye heretics! come hither and be aſtoniſhed, and open your eyes to Catholic and evangelic truth. The blood of St. Januarius alone is a ſufficient teſtimony of the truth. Is it poſſible that ſuch a great and famous miracle does not convert all heretics and infidels to the truths of the Roman Catholic church?

of

of favourite ſaints, in maſſy ſilver, immediately followed the croſs.

Having made their obeiſance to St. Januarius, they marched back, by a different route, in the ſame order to their convents.

After theſe inferior proceſſions were over, the grand one commenced, compoſed of a numerous body of clergy, and an immenſe multitude of people of all ranks, headed by the archbiſhop of Naples, carrying the phial containing the blood of the ſaint.

The Duke of Hamilton and our author were conducted, by the Britiſh miniſter, to a houſe exactly oppoſite to the portico where the ſacred head was placed. A magnificent robe of velvet was thrown over the ſhoulders of the buſt; and a mitre, refulgent with jewels, placed on its head.

The archbiſhop, with a ſolemn pace and a look full of awe and veneration, approached, holding forth the ſacred phial, which contained the precious lump of blood. He addreſſed the ſaint in the moſt fervent manner, and implored him to manifeſt his uſual regard for his faithful votaries of Naples, by ordering that lump of his ſacred blood to aſſume its natural and original form. The multitude joined in the ſame ſupplications, particularly the women.

Our author mingled with the crowd, and by degrees got near the buſt. For twenty minutes the archbiſhop had been praying, without intermiſſion. An old monk ſtood near him, and was at the utmoſt pains to inſtruct him how to handle, rub, and chafe the phial; but their joint manœuvres were ineffectual.

By this time the multitude had become quite noiſy, and the women were hoarſe with praying; the

the monk continued his operations with increaſed zeal, and the archbiſhop was in a profuſe ſweat with vexation. In whatever light the failure of the miracle might appear to others, it was a very ſerious matter to him; becauſe the people conſider ſuch an event as a proof of the ſaint's diſpleaſure, and a certain indication that ſome dreadful calamity will happen. Beſides, this was the firſt time he had officiated ſince his nomination to the ſee; and it was not unlikely but that the ſuperſtitious populace might fancy the ſaint was offended with his reverence.

"I never," ſays Dr. Moore, "ſaw more evident marks of vexation and alarm, than appeared in the archbiſhop's countenance. This alone would have convinced me, that they cannot command the liquefaction when they pleaſe. While things were in this ſtate, a gentleman puſhed through the crowd, and ſpoke to the old monk, who, in a pretty loud voice, and with an accent and grimace expreſſive of chagrin, replied, "'Sblood! it is ſtill as hard as a ſtone."

An acquaintance whiſpered our traveller to retire, as it was not unuſual to aſcribe the failure of the miracle to the preſence of heretics; and that the populace might, in conſequence, be led to an inſult. He took the hint, and rejoined his friends in the balcony; amuſing himſelf with obſerving the different paſſions which the devotees diſplayed. Some cried and ſobbed, as if their hearts were ready to break; others, inſtead of ſorrow, became indignant, and began to abuſe the ſaint.

When almoſt dark, and when leaſt expected, the ſignal was given that the miracle was performed. The populace filled the air with ſhouts

of joy; a band of muſic began to play; te deum was ſung; and couriers were diſpatched to the royal family, then at Portici, with the glad tidings.

A Catholic, however, who ſtood cloſe by the archbiſhop, aſſured our author that the miracle had entirely failed; for the old monk, ſeeing no ſymptoms of the blood liquefying, had the addreſs to give the ſignal, when it was too dark to diſtinguiſh clearly, and the archbiſhop had held up the bottle, moving it with a rapid motion before the eyes of the ſpectators, who were all willing to believe what they wiſhed; or at leaſt did not chuſe to contradict the principal agents.

The tomb of Virgil, which is conſtantly viſited by travellers, ſtands on the mountain of Pauſilippo, a little above the grotto of that name. The path to it runs through a vineyard: it is overgrown with ivy-leaves, and ſhaded with branches, ſhrubs, and buſhes. An ancient bay-tree, with infinite propriety, overſpreads it.

"Viewed from this magic ſpot," ſays our author, "the objects which adorn the bay become doubly intereſting. The poet's verſes are here recollected with additional pleaſure; the verſes of Virgil are interwoven in our minds with a thouſand intereſting ideas; with the memory of our boyiſh years, or the ſportive ſcenes of childhood; of our earlieſt friends and companions, many of whom are now no more; and thoſe who ſtill live, and for whom we retain the firſt impreſſion of affection, are removed to ſuch a diſtance, that the hopes of ſeeing them again ſeem at beſt but doubtful*."

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* Some antiquarians have pretended to ſay, that Virgil was buried on the other ſide of the bay; without fixing the particular

The Grotto of Pauſilippo ſerves as a communication to the claſſic fields of Baia and Cumæ. It is a ſubterraneous paſſage through the mountain, near a mile long, about twenty feet broad, and thirty or forty high, except at the two extremities, where it is much more elevated.

People of faſhion generally drive through this paſſage with torches; but the light which enters at the extremities, and at two holes, pierced through the mountain, renders it not difficult for paſſengers to find their way.

Two miles beyond this grotto is a circular lake, about half a mile in diameter, called Lago d'Agnano, on whoſe margin is ſituated the famous Grotto del Cane, where ſo many dogs have been tortured, merely to ſhew the effect of the vapour which riſes at the bottom of the cave.

A dog having his head held in this vapour, becomes convulſed in a few minutes, and ſoon after falls to the earth, motionleſs. The fellows, who attend at this cave, have always ſome miſerable animals, with ropes about their necks, ready for this cruel experiment, when any one will pay them for their trouble.

"I ſhould have been happy," ſays Dr. Moore, "to have taken the effect of the vapour for granted, without a new trial; but ſome of the company were of a more philoſophic turn of mind than I have any pretenſions to. When the unhappy dog found all his efforts to eſcape were ineffectual, he ſeemed to plead for mercy by the

cular ſpot. It is an eaſy matter to raiſe doubts, or to aſk queſtions; but we cordially join Dr. Moore in his apoſtrophe; "Would to heaven thoſe *doubters* would keep their minds to themſelves, and not ruffle the tranquillity of *believers!*"

dumb eloquence of looks, and the blandiſhments natural to his ſpecies. While he licked the hand of his keeper, the unrelenting wretch daſhed him a blow, and thruſt his head into the murderous vapour. The Duke of Hamilton, ſhocked at the fellow's barbarity, ſoon wreſted the dog from his hands, and gave him life and liberty, which he ſeemed to enjoy with all the bounding rapture of gladneſs and gratitude."

Though the experiment is generally made with dogs, becauſe they are moſt eaſily procured, yet it admits of no doubt, that this vapour convulſes, and, at laſt, proves fatal to whatever has life.

Beyond this, lie the favourite fields of fancy and poetical fiction: the Campi Phlegrei, the Monte Nova, and Barbaro; the grotto of the Cumæan ſybil, the noxious and gloomy lakes of Avernus and Acheron, and the green bowers of Elyſium.

The town of Puzzoli, and its environs, preſent an immenſe field of obſervation to the antiquarian, the natural philoſopher, and the claſſical ſcholar. The Temple of Jupiter Serapis, at this place, is a very intereſting monument of antiquity, being in quite a different ſtyle of architecture from the Grecian and Roman temples, and built in the Egyptian, or the Aſiatic taſte.

The ruins of Cicero's villa, near Puzzoli, are of ſuch extent, as to give a high idea of the wealth of this great orator. Had fortune always beſtowed her gifts with as much propriety, ſhe never would have been accuſed of blindneſs. When the truly great are bleſſed with riches, it affords pleaſure to every candid mind. Tully's country ſeats were never the ſcenes of idleneſs or riot. They are diſtinguiſhed by the names of his works, which

have

have been the delight of the learned, and have immortalized his own name.

The bay between Puzzoli and Baia, is about a league in breadth. Having paſſed this, a new field of curioſities preſents itſelf. The baths and priſons of Nero, the tomb of Agrippina, the temples of Venus, of Diana, and of Mercury, and the ruins of the ancient Cumæ; but there are no veſtiges of ſome of the fineſt villas that once adorned this luxurious coaſt, nor even of the town of Baia. The whole of this beautiful bay, once the ſeat of pleaſure and of population, is now very thinly inhabited, and exhibits a ſtriking contraſt between its ancient opulence and its preſent poverty.

Our travellers went to view the palace of Caſſerta, begun in 1750, and not then finiſhed, though ſeveral hundreds of men had been conſtantly employed on it.

In extent and magnificence, it ſeems out of all proportion to the revenues of the kingdom. It is ſituated about ſixteen miles north of Naples, on the plain where the ancient Capua ſtood.

Caſſerta is of a rectangular form, ſeven hundred and fifty feet by five hundred and eighty; and about one hundred and twelve feet high, compriſing five habitable ſtories, which contain a ſufficient number of apartments to accommodate the moſt numerous court. This rectangle is divided into four courts. In each of the two principal parts are three correſpondent gates, forming three openings, which paſs from ſide to ſide. The middle gate forms the entry to a magnificent portico, through which the coaches drive. In the middle of this, and in the centre of the edifice, is a veſtibule, which opens into the four grand courts.

On one ſide is a ſtatue of Hercules, crowned by Victory, with this inſcription,

"Virtus poſt fortia facta coronat."

that is,

"Virtue crowns him after many valiant actions."

The grand ſtaircaſe is adorned with the richeſt marble; and the apartments are laid out for balls, for theatrical entertainments, for parade, and for uſe: in a word, this palace is the moſt magnificent in Europe.

The gardens are of correſpondent extent and magnificence. They are decorated with ſtatues, chiefly from the antique, and contain an artificial lake and iſland. In the middle of the latter is a kind of caſtle, regularly fortified, with a ditch round it, and a numerous train of artillery, ſome of them nine or ten *ouncers*. It ſeems, indeed, that the cannon were deſigned againſt the frogs, who are continually attempting to ſcale the ramparts from the ditch. Dr. Moore ſays, he no ſooner entered this fort, than he wiſhed Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim had been of the party; for it would have charmed the ſouls of the worthy veteran and his faithful ſervant. The whole, it appears, was built for his majeſty's amuſement: no other reaſon could be aſſigned for it by the perſon who ſhewed the gardens.

As the king and queen were about to pay a viſit to four of the principal nunneries of Naples, in order to gratify the curioſity of the archduchеſs and her huſband, Prince Albert of Saxony, then on a viſit at this court, the Duke of Hamilton and

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our author had the honour to be admitted of the party.

"I have ſeen," ſays Dr. Moore, "various nunneries in various parts of Europe, but none that could be compared even with the meaneſt of thoſe four, for neatneſs and conveniency. They are all for the reception of young ladies of good families, and into one, none but ſuch as are of high rank can be admitted.

Each of the young ladies, in this ſplendid convent, have both a ſummer and winter apartment, and many other accommodations, not common in ſuch retreats.

The royal viſiters were received in all of them by the lady abbeſs at the head of the elderly nuns; they were afterwards preſented with noſegays, and ſerved with fruit, ſweetmeats, and a variety of cooling beverages, by the younger of the ſiſterhood. The queen, and her amiable ſiſter, received all very graciouſly, converſing very familiarly with the lady abbeſſes, and noticing each individually.

In one of the convents, there was the appearance of a table plentifully covered with a cold collation; but, on ſitting down to taſte ſomething, all the diſhes were found to be various kinds of ices, diſguiſed under the forms of joints of meat, fiſh, and fowl. The queen choſe a ſlice of cold turkey, which, on being cut up, turned out to be a large piece of lemon ice.

The gaiety, good humour, and affability, of this royal party, threw an air of cheerfulneſs over the ſcene; which, however, was interrupted, obſerves our author, by gleams of melancholy reflection, which failed not to dart acroſs the mind, at ſight of ſo many victims to family pride, to avarice,

and ſuperſtition. There is ſomething, adds he, in a nun's dreſs, which renders the beauty of a young woman more intereſting than the gayeſt, richeſt, moſt laboured ornaments. The intereſt taken in a beautiful woman, is heightened by the contraſt which is imagined to exiſt between the life to which her raſh vows have condemned her, and that to which her own unbiaſed inclination would have led her. One is moved with pity, which is akin to love, on ſeeing a young blooming creature doomed to retirement and ſelf-denial, who was formed by nature for ſociety and enjoyment.

Our travellers ſoon after left Naples, and returned to Rome, viſiting Tivoli, Freſcali, and Albano, which they had omitted to do when they were there before.

On the road from that city to Tivoli, about three miles from the latter, ſtrangers are deſired to viſit a kind of lake, called Solfatara, formerly Lacus Albulus, and are there ſhewn certain ſubſtances, to which they give the appellation of floating iſlands. Some of theſe are twelve or fifteen yards in length, and are formed of bull-ruſhes, duſt, and ſand, and cemented together by the bitumen which ſwims on the ſurface of the lake, and the ſulphur, with which its waters are impregnated.

By means of a pole, theſe iſlands may be moved from one part of the lake to another.

The ground near this lake, which empties itſelf into the ancient Anio, reſounds as if it were hollow. The water has the ſingular quality of covering any ſubſtance which it touches with a hard, white, ſtony matter. Small round incruſtations found here, which cover the ſand and pebbles,

bles, are called Confections of Tivoli. Fiſhes are found in the Anio, both above and below Tivoli, till it receives the Albula; after which, there are none, till it joins the Tiber.

Near the bottom of the eminence on which Tivoli ſtands, are the ruins of the magnificent villa of Adrian, which comprehended an immenſe collection of buildings for various purpoſes. Every quarter of the world contributed to adorn it; and its ſpoils have ſince formed the principal ornaments of the Campadoglio, the Vatican, and different palaces of the Roman princes. It is ſaid to have been three miles in length, and one in breadth; but its preſent ruins do not cover a quarter of that extent.

The town of Tivoli, the ancient Tibur, is now wretchedly mean. Even in the reign of Auguſtus, it had much declined from its ancient proſperity. It was, however, a favourite reſidence with many of the great men of Rome, among the reſt, Julius Cæſar and Caius Caſſius, had villas here, with many other illuſtrious names. The ruins of the villa of the celebrated patron of learning, Mæcenas, whoſe name is become proverbial, for the patronage he afforded to the literati, are ſtill to be ſeen on the ſouth ſide of the Anio. Horace has rendered this ſpot immortal; and his own ſeat was at no great diſtance, though antiquaries are divided about its preciſe ſituation.

The river Anio, which flows from the Apennines, fifty miles above Tivoli, glides through a plain till it comes near that town, when it is confined by two hills, covered with groves, ſuppoſed to have been the reſidence of the Sybil Albunia. There is ſtill a temple here, ſuppoſed to have been

dedicated

dedicated to her; the proportions of which are as happy as its ſituation. Near this ſpot is the famous caſcade of Tivoli, ſo much celebrated by all travellers.

Another grand ornament of Tivoli, is the villa Eſtenſe, belong to the Duke of Modena. It was built by Hippolitus of Eſte, Cardinal of Ferrara. The houſe is in the fineſt ſtyle of architecture; and there are many whimſical water-works in the gardens, which have a grand effect, though the gardens are not in a pure taſte.

Freſcati is a pleaſant village, on the declivity of a hill, about twelve miles from Rome. It is a biſhop's ſee, and is always poſſeſſed by one of the ſix ſenior cardinals. At preſent it belongs to the Cardinal Duke of York, who paſſes the greateſt part of his time in the duties and ceremonies of religion, and is little known, except by thoſe who enjoy his bounty.

The villa Aldobrandini, called alſo Belvedere, is one of the moſt remarkable ſeats in this vicinity. Its ſituation is extremely fine, and its accompaniments are in the firſt ſtyle of ſplendor. Over a ſaloon, near the grand caſcade, is the ſubſequent inſcription:

HUC EGO MIGRAVI MUSIS COMITATUS APOLLO,
HIC DELPHI, HIC HELICON, HIC MIHI DELOS ERIT.

The walls are adorned with a repreſentation of Apollo and the Muſes; and ſome of that god's adventures are painted in freſco by Domenichino.

The other moſt diſtinguiſhed villas in the neighbourhood of Freſcati, are thoſe of Ludoviſi and Taverna. The laſt is the fineſt and beſt furniſhed of any near Rome.

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The ancient Tuſculum is ſuppoſed to have occupied the ſpot where Freſcati is now built; and about a mile and a half diſtant, was the Tuſculan villa of Cicero, at a place now called the Grotto Ferrata. Some Greek monks, of the order of St. Baſil, flying from the perſecutions of the Saracens, in the eleventh century, built a convent here, and ſtill perform the ſervice in the Greek tongue.

They returned from viſiting this charming place, by Genſano, Marino, La Riccia, and Caſtel Gondolfo. All theſe villages and villas communicate by fine walks and avenues of lofty trees, whoſe intermingled branches form a continued ſhade.

Near the village of Caſtel Gondolfo, is the Barbarini villa, within the gardens of which are the ruins of an immenſe palace, built by the emperor Domitian. There is alſo a charming walk, about a mile long, by the ſide of the Lake of Albano, as far as the town of that name. The lake is an oval, of about ſeven or eight miles in circumference, whoſe margin is finely adorned with groves and trees of various tints, beautifully reflected from the tranſparent boſom of the water.

The grand ſcale on which the beauties of nature appear in Switzerland and the Alps, are almoſt too vaſt for the pencil; but among the ſweet hills and valleys of Italy, her features are brought nearer the eye, and appear in all the bloom of rural lovelineſs. Hence Tivoli, Albano, and Freſcati, are the favourite abodes of landſcape-painters, who travel into Italy for improvement. Nothing, indeed, can exceed the beautiful aſſemblage of natural charms to be ſeen in this vicinity.

Having taken a final leave of Rome, our travellers proceeded to Florence. This is, unqueſtionably

tionably, a very beautiful city. Independent of the churches and palaces, the architecture of the houſes, in general, is in a good taſte; the ſtreets are remarkably clean, and paved with large broad ſtones.

Florence is divided into two parts, by the river Arno, over which are four bridges, in ſight of each other. That called the Ponte Della Trinita, is uncommonly elegant. It is conſtructed of white marble, and ornamented with four beautiful ſtatues, repreſenting the four ſeaſons. The quays, the buildings on each ſide, and the bridges, render that part of Florence, which is bounded by the river, by far the moſt ſuperb.

This city has been equally diſtinguiſhed by a ſpirit of commerce and the fine arts; particularly while it was under the influence of the Medici family. In no part of Italy are there ſo many villas as in this vicinity, and even the habitations of the peaſants are diſtinguiſhed for neatneſs and convenience. The peaſants have a look of health and contentment; and the natural beauty of the Italian countenance is neither diſgraced by dirt, nor deformed by miſery. The women are more handſome than in other parts of Italy, and dreſs in a very attractive and becoming manner.

The country, all round, is divided into ſmall farms, with a neat houſe on each. Tuſcany produces a conſiderable quantity of corn, as well as excellent wine, and great quantities of ſilk.

Our travellers paſſed generally two hours every morning in the famous gallery of Florence. In Dr. Moore's opinion, one of the moſt intereſting parts of it, is the ſeries of Roman emperors from Julius Cæſar to Gallienus, with a conſiderable number of their empreſſes arranged oppoſite to them.

them. This ſeries is almoſt complete; and wherever the buſt of an emperor is wanting, the place is ſupplied by that of ſome other diſtinguiſhed Roman.

The gallery is ſacred to art, and every production which ſhe avows has a right to a place here. Among the noble ſpecimens of ancient ſculpture, ſome of the works of Michael Angelo are juſtly admitted. His Bacchus and Faunus have been preferred by ſome to the antique.

The beautiful head of Alexander is univerſally admired by the virtuoſi; though they differ in reſpect to the expreſſion the ſculptor meant to impreſs. The unfiniſhed buſt of M. Brutus, by Michael Angelo, admirably portrays the determined firmneſs of character belonging to that hero.

The Arrotino, or Whetter, attracts the notice of every perſon of taſte. Some ſuppoſe it to repreſent the ſlave who overheard Cataline's conſpiracy, while whetting his knife; others, that it was done for a peaſant, who diſcovered the plot concerted by the two ſons of Junius Brutus, for the reſtoration of Tarquin.

The Dancing Faun, the Wreſtlers, the Venus Urania, and the Venus Victrix, are in the ſame apartment; as well as the Venus de Medicis, which has been reckoned a model of female beauty. Dr. Moore, however, does not think her equal to her brother Apollo, in the Vatican. The latter he ſays appears more than a man; the former only a beautiful woman.

In the ſame room, or the Tribuna, as it is called, are many valuable curioſities, beſides an admirable collection of pictures by the beſt maſters.

Beſides the Gallery and the Tribuna, there are other rooms replete with the works of art and nature, whoſe contents are indicated by the names they bear: the Cabinet of Arts—of Aſtronomy—of Natural Hiſtory—of Medals—of Porcelain—of Antiquities,—and the Saloon of the Hermaphrodite, ſo called from the ſtatue which divides the admiration of the amateurs with that in the Borgheſe villa at Rome. The excellence, however, of the execution is diſgraced by the indecency of the ſubject.

The large room, called the Gallery of Portraits, is not the leaſt curious in this muſeum. It contains the portraits of the moſt celebrated painters, who have flouriſhed in Europe for the three laſt centuries, all executed by themſelves. They amount to above two hundred.

Though poverty is very general in Italy, our author ſays there is leſs miſery than he expected to find. This is partly owing to the mildneſs of the climate, the fertility of the ſoil, and partly to the ſober, religious, and contented habits of the people.

The Italians, who are too idle to work, or who cannot find employment, receive great relief from the convents. The lower claſſes of tradeſmen are neither diligent nor rich, but the little they gain is not waſted in intemperance.

Great part of the lands in Italy belong to the religious orders; and their tenants are ſaid to be the happieſt of any. The revenues of the convents are generally well applied, and as they are never ſquandered away by the folly or extravagance of their members, the monks can have no incitement to ſevere and oppreſſive exactions from their peaſantry; a paſſion which never riſes to

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ſuch a height in a ſociety, where the revenues are in common, as in the breaſt of an individual, who has the excluſive benefit of his grinding diſpoſition.

As the ſubjects of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates are perhaps the pooreſt in Italy, this has been imputed ſolely to the rapacious diſpoſition, ſaid to be natural to churchmen; but our author thinks this poverty may be rather accounted for from the nature of the government than from the profeſſion of the rulers.

That in all Roman Catholic countries, and particularly in Italy, the clergy are too numerous, have too much power, and have too great a portion of the lands, is undeniable. That the common people would be in a better ſituation, if manufactures and a ſpirit of induſtry could be introduced among them, is equally true; but even as matters ſtand, I cannot help thinking, ſays Dr. Moore, that the ſtate of the Italian peaſantry is preferable to that of perſons in the ſame condition, in moſt countries of Europe. They are neither beaten by their eccleſiaſtical lords, as thoſe of Germany are; nor are their children torn from them, to be ſacrificed to the pomp, avarice, or ambition of ſome military deſpot.

Beſides the converſaziones, which are common at Florence, with other towns in Italy, a number of the nobility meet here every day at a houſe called the Caſſino. This ſociety is elected by ballot, and pretty much reſembles the London clubs. They play at billiards, cards, or other games; or continue in converſation, according to their different taſtes.

The opera at Florence is a place where people of quality pay and receive viſits, and converſe as

freely as at the Caſſino. This occaſions a continual paſſing and repaſſing to and from the boxes. Sometimes, however, they play at cards, and pay little attention to the muſic or the performers.

On the evenings on which there is no opera, it is uſual for the genteel company to drive to a public walk immediately without the city. Soon after the arrival of our travellers at Florence, in one of the avenues of this walk, they were ſhewn Count Albany * and his lady. The count at ſubſequent accidental meetings fixed his eyes ſtrongly on the Duke of Hamilton, as if he meant to ſay, obſerves Dr. Moore, "our anceſtors were better acquainted." They neither affected to ſhun, nor wiſhed to meet with this unfortunate perſonage; wiſely conſidering, that thoſe who would treat him with an oſtentatious contempt at Florence, would have been his moſt abject flatterers at St. James's.

Our author, in this place, gives an intereſting account of cicisbeiſm, for which the Italians have been ſo much ſtigmatized. It ſeems that when the French manners began to prevail, and the women were freed from the unnatural reſtraints to which they were formerly ſubject, the huſbands could not emancipate themſelves from jealouſy at once; but agreed, that their wives ſhould go into public, under the guidance of a friend of their own chuſing. Thus it ſoon became univerſal for the women to appear in public, leaning on the arms of a man, who, from their frequently whiſpering together, was called her Ciciſbeo. It was ſtipulated, at the ſame time, that the lady while

* The late pretender.

abroad

abroad ſhould converſe with no other man but in his preſence, and with his approbation.

Such appears to have been the origin of the cuſtom; but as it was unlikely that the huſband could pleaſe both himſelf and his wife in the choice of a humble attendant, by degrees, the latter attached herſelf to ſome perſon for whom ſhe had a friendſhip; and it would be uncharitable to ſuppoſe that their connection is always carried farther: the reputation of ſome women, indeed, is ſo high, even in Italy, that even ſuſpicion does not glance at an impropriety in their conduct.

At preſent, the cicisbeo viſits the lady at her toilet, and having fixed the plan for paſſing the evening, retires before dinner. After dinner, he returns to conduct the lady to the public walk, the converſazioné, or the opera, and attends to her wants, with the utmoſt aſſiduity. The huſband is generally engaged in a ſimilar manner; and both reſign their charges, when the buſineſs of the evening is over.

The cicisbeo, in many inſtances, is a poor relation or humble friend, who is happy to be admitted into all the ſocieties, and to be carried about to public diverſions, as an appendage to the lady. It muſt, however, be admitted there are others of a different ſtamp, whoſe appearance is ſufficient to make a man jealous; but it is probable there are infamous compromiſes in Italy as well as in other countries.

But whether the connection be innocent or criminal, moſt Engliſhmen, ſays Dr. Moore, will be aſtoniſhed that men ſhould ſpend ſo much of their time in the company of women. This, however, will appear leſs ſurpriſing, when they recollect that the Italian nobility dare not inter-

meddle with politics; have no employment in the army or navy; nor are attached to hunting or drinking. Gaming and ſociety are their only diverſions; and ſurely, in ſuch a ſituation, nothing can ſo effectually ſoothe the cares, and beguile the tedioufneſs of life, as the company of an agreeable woman. Though the intimacy ſhould never exceed the limits of friendſhip, there is ſomething more flattering and agreeable in it than in male friendſhips: it gives a ſoftneſs to the manners, and a delicacy to the way of thinking, which cannot be acquired from aſſociating with their own ſex.

To attempt a deſcription of the churches, palaces, and other public buildings of Florence, would carry us too far; ſuffice it to ſay, that few cities in Europe, of its ſize, afford a finer field of entertainment to thoſe who are attached to ſuch ſtudies.

The chapel of St. Lorenzo, is perhaps the fineſt, and moſt expenſive, ſtructure that ever was raiſed for the dead. It is incruſted with precious ſtones, and adorned by ſculpture. Mr. Addiſon remarked, that this chapel advanced ſo ſlowly, that it was not impoſſible the Medici family might become extinct before it was finiſhed. This has actually taken place: the Medici family is extinct, and yet the chapel is not finiſhed.

The Palazzo Pitti, where the great duke reſides, ſtands on the oppoſite ſide of the Arno from the gallery. The furniture is rich and curious, particularly ſome tables of Florentine work, which are much admired. The walls of the imperial chamber are painted in freſco by various artiſts, in allegorical ſubjects, to the honour of Lorenzo of Medicis, the Magnificent.

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From Florence our travellers proceeded for Bologna, and had the good fortune to be preſent on the day when the academy diſtributes the prizes for the beſt ſpecimens and deſigns in painting, ſculpture, and architecture. A panegyric on the fine arts was pronounced by one of the profeſſors, who took that opportunity of ſcattering incenſe on every perſon who had power or influence in the ſtate.

On their way to Milan, they made a ſhort ſtop at Modena, the capital of the duchy of that name. This town contains about twenty thouſand inhabitants. The ſtreets are in general wide, ſtraight, and adorned with porticoes.

Modena is ſurrounded by a fortification, and farther ſtrengthened by a citadel. It was anciently rendered famous for the ſiege which Decimus Brutus ſuſtained here againſt Mark Antony.

They next proceeded to Parma, a beautiful and well fortified town, with broad regular ſtreets, and well built houſes. This town is divided into two unequal parts by the little river Parma, which loſes itſelf in the Po, ten or twelve miles from Parma. The theatre is the largeſt in Europe; yet a whiſper on the ſtage is heard all over this immenſe building.

Several of the churches here are ornamented by the pencil of Correggio, particularly the cupola of the cathedral. The famous picture of the Virgin, by this artiſt, in which Mary Magdalen and St. Jerome are introduced, has been thought to unite, in a ſupreme degree, the various beauties of the art. Our author, however, could not ſee half the beauties in it which amateurs had pointed out; and indeed he ſeems to think it has as many defects as excellences.

The duchies of Modena, Parma, and Placentia, are extremely fertile. The ſoil is naturally rich, and the climate being more moiſt than in many parts of Italy, the paſturage is green and luxuriant. The road runs over a continued plain, divided by rows of trees, from whoſe branches the vines hang in beautiful feſtoons.

The peaſants have a neat, contented, and cheerful appearance; and the women ſhew ſome attention to the ornaments of dreſs, which is ſeldom found to be the caſe amidſt oppreſſive poverty.

Notwithſtanding the fertility of the environs, the town of Placentia itſelf is but thinly inhabited, and ſeems in a ſtate of decay. Except the ducal palace, ſome pictures in the churches, and two bronze equeſtrian ſtatues before the town-houſe, there are few objects of curioſity in this place.

Their next ſtage was Milan, which is the largeſt city in Italy except Rome, though not half ſo populous as Naples.

The cathedral ſtands in the centre of the city, and after St. Peter's, is the moſt conſiderable building in Italy. It was begun four hundred years ago, yet a conſiderable number of men are ſtill employed on it, either in completing the original plan, or in repairing the injuries of time.

No church in chriſtendom is more loaded, or rather disfigured, with ornaments. The number of marble ſtatues, both within and without, is prodigious. The whole pile is of ſolid marble, and ſupported by fifty columns, each eighty-four feet high. The four pillars under the cupola are twenty-eight feet in circumference. By much the fineſt ſtatue is that of St. Bartholomew. He appears flayed, and his ſkin hangs round his waiſt

like

like a ſaſh, in the moſt degagé manner imaginable.

The treaſury belonging to this church is reckoned the richeſt in Italy after Loretto. It contains many jewels, relics, and curioſities of various kinds.

The Ambroſian library is ſaid to be one of the moſt valuable collections of books and manuſcripts in Europe. It is open for ſtudents a certain number of hours every day. In the adjoining muſeum are a conſiderable number of pictures and many curioſities. Among others, a human ſkeleton, ſaid to belong to a Milaneſe lady of great beauty, who, by her laſt will, directed that her bones ſhould be placed here for the contemplation of poſterity.

There is no place in Italy, or perhaps in Europe, where ſtrangers are more hoſpitably received than at Milan. A natural politeneſs diſtinguiſhes the nobility of this duchy; and the general character of the inhabitants has perhaps fewer ſhades than in any other part of the country.

Fertile as this country is, and abounding in articles of exportation, trade is neither encouraged, nor even allowed to expand itſelf. There are ſtill abſurd prejudices againſt the character of a merchant; and perhaps there is little probability, ſays Dr. Moore, that the inhabitants of Milan will recover this unfortunate turn of mind, while they remain under German dominion, and adopt German ideas.

"Why are the inhabitants of the rich plains of Lombardy," continues he, "leſs opulent than thoſe of the ſteril mountains of Switzerland? Becauſe freedom, whoſe influence is more benign

than

than ſun-ſhine and zephyrs, who covers the rugged rock with ſoil, drains the ſickly ſwamp, and clothes the brown heath in verdure; who dreſſes the labourer's face with ſmiles, and makes him behold his increaſing family with delight and exultation:—Freedom has abandoned the fertile fields of Lombardy, and dwells among the mountains of Switzerland."

They left Milan at midnight, and arrived at Turin next evening. All the approaches to that city are magnificent. It is ſituated at the foot of the Alps, in a fine plain, watered by the Po. Moſt of the ſtreets are well built, uniform, and clean. The Strada di Po, the fineſt and largeſt in the city, is adorned with porticoes. The four gates are highly ornamental; and the fortifications are regular, and in perfect order.

The royal palace and gardens diſplay neatneſs rather than magnificence. The furniture, however, is rich and elegant; and the decorations, conſiſting of pictures, ſtatues, and antiquities, are of great value.

The royal family are great obſervers of etiquette: all their movements are uniform and invariable. Our travellers had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing them at maſs; but as the Duke of Hamilton was impatient to reach England, he declined being preſented at court, and ſtopped only two days at the capital of Sardinia.

Proceeding on their route, they reached Novalezza, at the bottom of Mount Cenis, where their carriages were taken to pieces, and delivered to the muletteers to be carried to Lanebourg. They rode up this mountain with great eaſe, and found on the top a fine verdant plain. They halted at an inn, called Santa Croce, w here Piedmont ends

and Savoy begins, and were regaled with fried trout, caught from a neighbouring lake.

When they arrived at the north ſide of the mountain, they diſmiſſed their mules, and had recourſe to ſome Alpine chairs, carried by men. As they jogged, zig-zag, according to the courſe of the road, they laughed and ſung all the way, and ſeemed happier than thoſe they carried.

Arriving at Lanebourg, they put the ſcattered members of their carriages together, and paſſing through Aiguebelle, Montmelian, and Chamberry, came to Geneva. Here Dr. Moore made ſome ſtay, and ſeems to have left the Geneveſe at laſt with extreme regret.

Having been frequently, he ſays, at Lyons, he choſe on this occaſion to return to Paris by Franche Comté and Champagne. At Beſançon he accidentally found his lively friend the Marquis de F. with whom he had been ſo intimate in Paris. Their meeting was extremely agreeable to both, and though the marquis was indiſpoſed with an ague, he entertained our traveller with a recital of his different adventures, and thoſe of their friends, ſince their laſt parting, with all the vivacity for which the French are diſtinguiſhed.

After an agreeable journey by Gray, Langres, and Troyes, they arrived at Paris, where they had the happineſs to renew their old friendſhips, and to contract ſome freſh ones.

TRAVELS IN

THE UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA,

PERFORMED IN 1788, BY

J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE.

THE rapid career of revolution which Briſſot ran, ſoon brought him to the goal. We will leave it to impartial poſterity, to appreciate his merits, or his faults; but we cannot help thinking, that his travels will be read with ſome intereſt, even by thoſe, who join with us in reprobating many of the principles he defends, and the cauſe for which he ſuffered.

Seeing with the eyes of a prejudiced republican, the government of America appeared bordering on perfection, and nothing but happineſs was to be found among the people. All her inſtitutions were wiſe and humane, and all her rulers actuated by patriotic views alone. How often do illuſions aſſume the form and colour that ſuit our preſent fancy, and fallacious novelties triumph over ſolid experience! All human inſtitutions partake of error and imperfection: the beſt cannot make man happy, without perſonal virtue; the worſt have ſome beauties, or advantages, which are miſſed, as ſoon as removed.

The

The object of Briſſot, in the following travels, was to make remarks on the political, civil, and military ſtate of the United States of America, and to report them to his friend M. Claviere, which he has done in a ſeries of letters, in a very animated ſtyle.

As we neither adopt his principles, nor are reſponſible for his arguments, we permit him to appear in his own character, and only lop off his excreſcences, and connect his obſervations.

He arrived at Havre de Grace on the 3d of June 1788, and ſoon after embarked for America.

I ſhall not deſcribe, ſays he to his correſpondent, the cities and countries which I have paſſed on my way to Havre. My imagination was too full of the diſtreſſing ſpectacle I was leaving behind; my mind was thronged with with too many cares and fears, to be able to make obſervations. I was inſenſible to all the ſcenes which preſented themſelves to me.

The fields of Normandy, eſpecially the canton of Caux, diſplay a great variety of culture. The houſes of the peaſants, better built, and better lighted than thoſe of Picardy and Beauce, announce the eaſe which generally reigns in this province. The peaſants are well clad. The headdreſs of the women of Caux is ſingular; the cap is in the form of a pyramid, the hair turned back, conſtrained, plaiſtered with powder and greaſe, and covered with tinſil, which always diſfigures ſimple nature.

The Norman peaſants have that air of contentment and independence which is obſervable in thoſe of the Auſtrian Flanders; that calm and open countenance, an infallible ſign of the happy mediocrity, the moral goodneſs and the dignity of man. If ever France ſhall be governed by a free

conſtitution, no province is better ſituated, or enjoys more means to arrive at a high degree of proſperity.

Bolbec and Bottes, near Havre, contain ſome ſituations quite pictureſque and delicious for the hermitage of a philoſopher, or the manſion of a family who ſeek their happineſs within themſelves.

I fled from Rouen as from all great towns. Miſery dwells there at the ſide of opulence. You there meet a numerous train of wretches covered with rags, with ſallow complexions and deformed bodies. Every thing announces that there are manufactories in that town; that is to ſay, a crowd of miſerable beings, who periſh with hunger, to enable others to ſwim in opulence.

The merchants at Havre complain much of the treaty of commerce between France and England*; they think it at leaſt premature, conſidering our want of a conſtitution, and the ſuperiority of the Engliſh induſtry. They complain likewiſe, that the merchant was not conſulted in forming it. I endeavoured to conſole them, by ſaying, that the conſequences of this treaty, joined with other circumſtances, would doubtleſs lead to a free conſtitution; which, by knocking off the ſhackles from the French induſtry and commerce, would enable us to repair our loſſes. With regard to the indifference of the miniſtry in conſulting the merchants, I convinced them, that it was as much the reſult of ſervile fear, and want of public ſpirit in the merchants, as of the principles of an unlimited monarchy.

* This treaty ſhewed the ſuperior abilities of Lord Aukland in commercial negotiation.

Havre is, next to Nantz and Bordeaux, the moſt conſiderable place for the ſlave trade. Many rich houſes in this city owe their fortunes to this infamous trafic, which increaſes inſtead of diminiſhing. There is, at preſent, a great demand for ſlaves in the colonies, occaſioned by the augmentation of the demand for ſugar, coffee, and cotton in Europe. Is it true then, that wealth increaſes? You may believe it, perhaps, if you look into England; but the interior parts of France give no ſuch idea.

Our negro traders believe, that were it not for the conſiderable premiums given by the government, this trade could not ſubſiſt; becauſe the Engliſh ſell their ſlaves at a much lower price than the French. I have many of theſe details from an American captain, who is well acquainted with the Indies, and with Africa. He aſſures me, that the negroes are, in general, treated much better on board the French than the Engliſh ſhips. And, perhaps, this is the reaſon why the French cannot ſupport a concurrence with the Engliſh, who nouriſh them worſe, and expend leſs.

I ſpoke with ſome of theſe merchants of the ſocieties formed in America, England, and France, for the abolition of this horrid commerce. They did not know of their exiſtence, and they conſidered their efforts as the movements of a blind and dangerous enthuſiaſm. Filled with old prejudices, they ceaſed not to repeat to me, that the culture of ſugar could not be carried on, but by the blacks, and by black ſlaves. The whites, they ſay, cannot undertake it, on account of the extreme heat; and no work can be drawn out of the blacks, but by the force of the whip.

To

To this objection, as to twenty others, which I have heard a hundred times repeated, I oppoſed the victorious anſwers which this diſcuſſion has provoked: but I converted nobody. Intereſt ſtill ſpeaks too high; and it is not enough inſtructed.

Theſe French merchants have confirmed to me a fact, which the ſociety in London has announced to us; it is, that the Engliſh carry on this trade under the name of French houſes, and thus obtain the premiums which the French government gives to this commerce.

I mentioned to them an eſtabliſhment formed at Sierra Leona, to cultivate ſugar by free hands, and extend their culture and civilization in Africa. They anſwered me, that this ſettlement would not long ſubſiſt; that the French and Engliſh merchants viewed it with an evil eye, and would employ force to deſtroy their riſing colony*.

Theſe merchants appeared to me to have more prejudice than inhumanity; and that if they could be told of a new commerce more advantageous, it would not be difficult to induce them to abandon the ſale of the wretched Africans.

I ſee in this port, one of thoſe packets deſtined for the correſpondence between France and the United States, and afterwards employed in the very uſeleſs and expenſive royal correſpondence with our iſlands;—a ſyſtem adopted only to favour, at the public expence, ſome of the creatures of the miniſtry. This ſhip, called *Marechal de Caſtries*, was built in America, and is an excellent ſailer. This is the beſt anſwer to all the fables uttered at the office of marine at Verſailles,

* This infernal project has ſucceeded; but the triumph, it is hoped, will not be long.

againſt the American timber, and the American conſtruction.

Adieu, the wind is fair, and we are on the point of embarking. I am impatient; for every thing here afflicts me; even the accents of patriotiſm are alarming and ſuſpicious. Such is the fatal influence of arbitrary governments: they ſever all connections, they cramp confidence, induce ſuſpicion, and, of conſequence, force men of liberty and ſenſibility to ſequeſter themſelves, to be wretched, or to live in eternal fear. For ſix mouths I have not ſeen a a new face, that has not given me ſuſpicion. This ſituation is too violent for me—in a few hours my breaſt will be at eaſe, my ſoul will be quiet.

On the 30th of July, I landed at Boſton. With what joy did I leap to this ſhore of liberty! I was weary of the ſea; and the ſight of trees and towns, and even of men, gives a delicious refreſhment to eyes fatigued with the deſert of the ocean. I flew from deſpotiſm, and came at laſt to enjoy the ſpectacle of liberty, among a people where nature, education, and habit had engraved the equality of rights. With what pleaſure did I contemplate this town! How I delighted to wander up and down that long ſtreet, whoſe ſimple houſes of wood, border the magnificent channel of Boſton, and whoſe full ſtores offered me all the productions of the continent which I had quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artiſans, and the ſailors! It was not the noiſy vortex of Paris; it was not the unquiet, eager mien of my countrymen; it was the ſimple, dignified air of men, who are conſcious of liberty, and who ſee in all men their brothers and their equals. Every thing in this ſtreet bears the marks of a town ſtill in its infancy, but which, even in

its

its infancy, enjoys a great prosperity. I thought myself in that Salentum, of which the lively pencil of Fenelon has left us so charming an image. But the prosperity of this new Salentum was not the work of one man, of a king, or a minister; it is the fruit of liberty, that mother of industry. Every thing is rapid, every thing great, every thing durable with her. Boston is just rising from the devastations of war, and its commerce is flourishing; its manufactures, productions, arts, and sciences, offer a number of curious and interesting observations.

The manners of the people are not exactly the same as described by former travellers. You no longer meet here that Presbyterian austerity, which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking; which forbade travelling on Sunday, which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. The Bostonians unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. They are hospitable to strangers, and obliging to friends; they are tender husbands, fond and almost idolatrous parents, and kind masters. Music, which their teachers formerly proscribed as a diabolic art, begins to make part of their education. This art, it is true, is still in its infancy; but the young novices who exercise it, are so gentle, so complaisant, and so modest, that the proud perfection of art gives no pleasure equal to what they afford. God grant that the Bostonian women may never, like those of France, acquire the malady of perfection in this art! It is never attained, but at the expence of the domestic virtues.

The young women here enjoy the liberty they do in England, that they did in Geneva, when morals were there, and the republic exiſted; and they do not abuſe it. Their frank and tender hearts have nothing to fear from the perfidy of men. Examples of this perfidy are rare; the vows of love are believed; and love always reſpects them, or ſhame follows the guilty.

The Boſtonian mothers are reſerved; their air is, however, frank, good, and communicative. Entirely devoted to their families, they are occupied in rendering their huſbands happy, and in training their children to virtue.

The law denounces heavy penalties againſt adultery; but this law has ſcarcely ever been called into execution. It is becauſe families are happy; and they are pure becauſe they are happy.

Neatneſs without luxury, is a characteriſtic feature of this purity of manners; and this neatneſs is ſeen every where at Boſton, in their dreſs, in their houſes, and in their churches. Nothing is more charming than an inſide view of a church on Sunday. The good cloth coat covers the man, calicoes and chintzes dreſs the women and children, without being ſpoiled by thoſe gewgaws, which whim and caprice have added to them among our women.

I ſhall never call to mind without emotion, the pleaſure I had one day, in hearing the reſpectable Mr. Clarke, ſucceſſor to the learned Dr. Chauncey, the friend of mankind. I remarked in this auditory, the exterior of that eaſe and contentment of which I have ſpoken; that collected calmneſs, reſulting from the habit of gravity, and the conſcious preſence of the Almighty; that religious

ligious decency, which is equally distant from grovelling idolatry, and from the light and wanton airs of those Europeans, who go to a church as to a theatre.

Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectantur ut ipsæ.

But, to crown my happiness, I saw none of those livid wretches, covered with rags, who in Europe, soliciting our compassion at the foot of the altar, seem to bear testimony against our humanity, and the order of society. The discourse, the prayer, the worship, every thing, bore the same simplicity. The sermon breathed the best morality, and it was heard with attention.

The excellency of this morality characterizes almost all the sermons of all the sects through the continent. The ministers rarely speak dogmas: universal tolerance, the child of American independence, has banished the preaching of dogmas, which always leads to discussion and quarrels.

This tolerance is unlimited at Boston; a town formerly witness of severe persecutions, especially against the Quakers. Just Heaven! how is it possible there can exist men believing sincerely in God, and yet barbarous enough to inflict death on persons who feel it their duty to think differently. Every one at present worships God in his own way, at Boston. Anabaptists, Methodists, Quakers, and Catholics, profess openly their opinions: and all offices of government, places and emoluments, are equally open to all sects. Virtue and talents, and not religious opinions, are the tests of public confidence.

The

The miniſters of different ſects live in ſuch harmony, that they ſupply each other's places when any one is detained from his pulpit.

On ſeeing men think ſo differently on matters of religion, and yet poſſeſs ſuch virtues, it may be concluded, that one may be very honeſt, and believe, or not believe, in ſome dogmas of the Romiſh church. They have concluded that it is beſt to tolerate each other, and that this is the worſhip moſt agreeable to God.

Before this opinion was ſo general among them, they had eſtabliſhed another: it was, the neceſſity of reducing divine worſhip to the greateſt ſimplicity, to diſconnect it from all its ſuperſtitious ceremonies, which gave it the appearance of idotry. In the country, the church has a glebe; in town, the miniſters live on collections made each Sunday in the church, and the rents of pews.

Since the ancient puritan auſterity has diſappeared, you are no longer ſurpriſed to ſee a game of cards introduced among theſe good Preſbyterians. When the mind is tranquil in the enjoyment of competence and peace, it is natural to occupy it in this way, eſpecially in a country where there is no theatre, where men make it not a buſineſs to pay court to the women, where they read few books, and cultivate ſtill leſs the ſciences. This taſte for cards is certainly unhappy in a republican ſtate. The habit of them contracts the mind, prevents the acquiſition of uſeful knowledge, leads to idleneſs and diſſipation, and gives birth to every malignant paſſion. Happily, it is not very conſiderable in Boſton: you ſee here no fathers of families riſking their whole fortunes in it.

There

There are many clubs at Boſton. M. Chaſtellux ſpeaks of a particular club held once a week. I was at it ſeveral times, and was much pleaſed with their politeneſs to ſtrangers, and the knowledge diſplayed in their converſation. There is no coffee-houſe at Boſton, New-York, or Philadelphia. One houſe in each town, that they call by that name, ſerves as an exchange.

One of the principal pleaſures of the inhabitants of theſe towns, conſiſts in little parties for the country, among families and friends. The principal expence of the parties, eſpecially after dinner, is tea. In this, as in their whole manner of living, the Americans in general reſemble the Engliſh. Punch, warm and cold, before dinner; excellent beef and Spaniſh and Bordeaux wines, cover their tables, always ſolidly and abundantly ſerved. Spruce beer, excellent cyder, and Philadelphia porter, precede the wines. This porter is equal to the Engliſh: the manufacture of it ſaves a vaſt tribute formerly paid to the Engliſh induſtry. The ſame may ſoon be ſaid with reſpect to cheeſe. I have often found American cheeſe equal to the beſt Cheſhire of England, or the Rocfort of France. This may with truth be ſaid of that made on a farm on Elizabeth Iſland, belonging to the reſpectable Governor Bowdoin.

After the Americans had ſecured their independence, they determined to rival their mother-country in every thing uſeful. This ſpirit of emulation ſhews itſelf every where: it has erected at Boſton an extenſive glaſs manufactory, belonging to M. Breek and others.

This ſpirit of emulation has opened to the Boſtonians many channals of commerce, which lead them to all parts of the globe.

It is this ſpirit of emulation, which multiplies and brings to perfection ſo many manufactories of cordage in this town; which has erected filatures of hemp and flax, proper to occupy young people, without ſubjecting them to be crowded together in ſuch numbers as to ruin their health and their morals; proper likewiſe, to occupy that claſs of women, whom the long voyages of their ſea-faring huſbands and other accidents reduce to inoccupation.

To this ſpirit of emulation are owing the manufactories of ſalt, nails, paper, and paper-hangings, which are multiplied in this ſtate. The rum diſtilleries are on the decline, ſince the ſuppreſſion of the ſlave trade, in which this liquor was employed, and ſince the diminution of the uſe of ſtrong ſpirits by the country people.

This is fortunate for the human race, and the American induſtry will ſoon repair the ſmall loſs it ſuſtains from the decline of this fabrication of poiſons.

Maſſachuſetts wiſhes to rival, in manufactures, Connecticut and Pennſylvania; ſhe has, like the laſt, a ſociety formed for the encouragement of manufactures and induſtry.

The greateſt monuments of the induſtry of this ſtate, are the three bridges of Charles, Malden, and Eſſex.

Boſton has the glory of having given the firſt college or univerſity to the new world. It is placed on an extenſive plain, four miles from Boſton, at a place called Cambridge; the origin of this uſeful inſtitution was in 1636. The imagination could not fix on a place that could better unite all the conditions eſſential to a ſeat of education; ſufficiently near to Boſton, to enjoy all the advan-

tages

tages of a communication with Europe and the reſt of the world; and ſufficiently diſtant not to expoſe the ſtudents to the contagion of licentious manners, common in commercial towns.

The air of Cambridge is pure, and the environs charming; offering a vaſt ſpace for the exerciſe of the youth.

The buildings are large, numerous, and well diſtributed. But, as the number of the ſtudents augments every day, it will be neceſſary ſoon to enlarge the eſtabliſhment. The library and cabinet of philoſophy, do honour to the inſtitution. The firſt contains thirteen thouſand volumes. The heart of a Frenchman palpitates on finding the works of Racine, of Monteſquieu, and the Encyclopædia, where, one hundred and fifty years ago, aroſe the ſmoke of the ſavage calumet.

The regulation of the courſe of ſtudies here, is nearly the ſame as that at the univerſity of Oxford. I think it impoſſible but that the laſt revolution muſt introduce a great reform. Free men ought to ſtrip themſelves of their prejudices, and to perceive, that above all, it is neceſſary to be a man and a citizen; and that the ſtudy of the dead languages, of a faſtidious philoſophy, ought to occupy few of the moments of a life, which might be uſefully employed in ſtudies more advantageous to the great family of the human race.

Such a change in the ſtudies is more probable, as an academy is formed at Boſton, compoſed of reſpectable men, who cultivate all the ſciences; and who will, doubtleſs, very ſoon point out a courſe of education more ſhort, and more ſure in forming good citizens and philoſophers.

Mr.

Mr. Bowdoin, preſident of this academy, is a man of univerſal talants. He unites with his profound erudition, the virtues of a magiſtrate, and the principles of a republican politician. His conduct has never diſappointed the confidence of his fellow citizens.

But to return to the univerſity of Cambridge —Superintended by the reſpectable preſident Willard. Among the aſſociates in the direction of the ſtudies, are diſtinguiſhed, Dr. Wiggleſworth and Dr. Dexter. The latter is profeſſor of natural philoſophy, chemiſtry, and medicine; a man of extenſive knowledge, and great modeſty. He told me, to my great ſatisfaction, that he gave lectures on the experiments of our ſchool of chemiſtry. The excellent work of my reſpectable maſter, Dr. Fourcroy, was in his hands, which taught him the rapid ſtrides that this ſcience has lately made in Europe.

In a free country, every thing ought to bear the ſtamp of patriotiſm. This patriotiſm, ſo happily diſplayed in the foundation, endowment, and encouragement of this univerſity, appears every year in a ſolemn feaſt celebrated at Cambridge in honour of the ſciences. This feaſt, which takes place once a year in all the colleges of America, is called the *commencement*: it reſembles the exerciſes and diſtribution of prizes in our colleges. It is a day of joy for Boſton; almoſt all its inhabitants aſſemble in Cambridge. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the ſtudents diſplay their talents in preſence of the public; and theſe exerciſes, which are generally on patriotic ſubjects, are terminated by a feaſt, where reign the freeſt gaiety, and the moſt cordial fraternity.

It is remarked, that, in countries chiefly devoted to commerce, the ſciences are not carried to any high degree. This remark applies to Boſton. The univerſity certainly contains men of worth and learning; but ſcience is not diffuſed among the inhabitants of the town. Commerce occupies all their ideas, turns all their heads, and abſorbs all their ſpeculations. Thus you find few eſtimable works, and few authors. The expence of the firſt volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of this town, is not yet covered; it is two years ſince it appeared. Some time ſince was publiſhed, the Hiſtory of the late Troubles in Maſſachuſetts; it is very well written. The author has found much difficulty to indemnify himſelf for the expence of printing it.

Poets, for the ſame reaſon, muſt be more rare than other writers. They ſpeak, however, of an original, but lazy poet, by the name of Allen. His verſes are ſaid to be full of warmth and force. They mention particularly, a manuſcript poem of his on the famous battle of Bunker-hill; but he will not print it.

They publiſh a magazine here, though the number of gazettes is very conſiderable. The multiplicity of gazettes proves the activity of commerce, and the taſte for politics and news; the merits and multiplicity of literary and political magazines are ſigns of the culture of the ſciences.

You may judge from theſe details, that the arts, except thoſe that reſpect navigation, do not receive much encouragement here. The hiſtory of the Planetarium of Mr. Pope is a proof of it. Mr. Pope is a very ingenious artiſt, occupied in clock-making. The machine which he has conſtructed, to explain the movement of the heavenly bodies,

would aſtoniſh you, eſpecially when you conſider that he has received no ſuccour from Europe, and very little from books. He owes the whole to himſelf; he is the child of nature. Ten years of his life have been occupied in perfecting this Planetarium. He had opened a ſubſcription to recompenſe his trouble; but the ſubſcription was never full.

This diſcouraged artiſt told me one day, that he was going to Europe to ſell this machine, and to conſtruct others. This country, ſaid he, is too poor to encourage the arts. Theſe words "this country is too poor," ſtruck me. I reflected, that if they were pronounced in Europe, they might lead to wrong ideas of America; for the idea of poverty carries that of rags, of hunger; and no country is more diſtant from that ſad condition. When riches are centered in a few hands, theſe have a great ſuperfluity; and this ſuperfluity may be applied to their pleaſures, and to favour the agreeable and frivolous arts. When riches are equally divided in ſociety, there is very little ſuperfluity, and conſequently little means of encouraging the agreeable arts. But which of theſe two countries is the rich, and which is the poor? According to the European ideas, and in the ſenſe of Mr. Pope, it is the firſt that is rich; but to the eye of reaſon it is not; for the other is the happieſt. Hence it reſults, that the ability of giving encouragement to the agreeable arts, is a ſymptom of national calamity*.

* Shallow, miſtaken politician! Neither the arts, nor even commerce can flouriſh, where the maſſes of property are diſſolved.

Let us not blame the Boſtonians; they think of the uſeful, before procuring to themſelves the agreeable. They have no brilliant monuments; but they have neat and commodious churches, but they have good houſes, but they have ſuperb bridges, and excellent ſhips. Their ſtreets are well illuminated at night; while many ancient cities of Europe, containing proud monuments of art, have never yet thought of preventing the fatal effects of nocturnal darkneſs.

Beſides the ſocieties for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, they have another, known by the name of the Humane Society. Their object is to recover drowned perſons. It is formed after the model of the one at London, as that is copied from the one at Paris. They follow the ſame methods as in Europe, and have rendered important ſuccours.

The Medical Society is not leſs uſeful than the one laſt mentioned. It holds a correſpondence with all the country towns; to know the ſymptoms of local diſeaſes, propoſe the proper remedies, and give inſtructions thereupon to their fellow-citizens.

Another eſtabliſhment is the alms-houſe. It is deſtined to the poor, who, by age and infirmity are unable to gain their living. It contains at preſent about one hundred and fifty perſons.

Another, called the work-houſe, or houſe of correction, is not ſo much peopled as you might imagine. In a riſing country, in an active port, where proviſions are cheap, good morals predominate, the number of thieves and vagabonds is ſmall. Theſe are vermin attached to miſery; and there is no miſery here.

An employment which is, unhappily, one of the moſt lucrative in this ſtate, is the profeſſion of the law. They ſtill preſerve the expenſive forms of the Engliſh practice, which good ſenſe and the love of order, ought to teach them to ſuppreſs; they render advocates neceſſary; they have likewiſe borrowed from their fathers, the Engliſh, the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. But, notwithſtanding the abuſes of law proceedings, they complain very little of the lawyers. Thoſe with whom I have been acquainted, appear to enjoy a great reputation for integrity; ſuch as Sumner, Wendell, Lowell, Sullivan.

One of the greateſt ornaments of the American bar, is the celebrated Adams; who, from the humble ſtation of a ſchoolmaſter, has raiſed himſelf to the firſt dignities; whoſe name is as much reſpected in Europe, as in his own country, for the difficult embaſſies with which he has been charged. He has, finally, returned to his retreat, in the midſt of the applauſes of his fellow-citizens, occupied in the cultivation of his farm. Such were the generals and ambaſſadors of the beſt ages of Rome and Greece; ſuch were Epaminondas, Cincinnatus, and Fabius.

It is not poſſible to ſee Mr. Adams, who knows ſo well the American conſtitutions, without ſpeaking to him of that which appears to be taking place in France. I do not know whether he has an ill opinion of our character, of our conſtancy, or of our underſtanding; but he does not believe that we can eſtabliſh a liberty, even equal to what the Engliſh enjoy; he does not believe, even that we have the right, like the ancient ſtates-general, to require that no tax

ſhould

ſhould be impoſed without the conſent of the people.

Mr. Adams is not the only man diſtinguiſhed in this great revolution, who have retired to the obſcure labours of a country life. General Heath is one of thoſe worthy imitators of the Roman Cincinnatus; for he likes not the American Cincinnati: their eagle appears to him a gewgaw. On ſhewing me a letter from the immortal Waſhington, whom he loves as a father and reveres as an angel—this letter, ſays he, is a jewel which, in my eyes, ſurpaſſes all the eagles and all the ribbons in the world. It was a letter in which that general had felicitated him for his good conduct on a certain occaſion. With what joy did this reſpectable man ſhew me all parts of his farm! What happineſs he enjoys on it! He is a true farmer. A glaſs of cyder, which he preſented to me, with frankneſs and good humour painted on his countenance, appeared to me ſuperior to the moſt exquiſite wines. With this ſimplicity, men are worthy of liberty, and they are ſure of enjoying it for a long time.

This ſimplicity characterizes almoſt all the men of this ſtate, who have acted diſtinguiſhed parts in the revolution: ſuch, among others, as Samuel Adams, and Mr. Hancock the preſent governor. If ever a man was ſincerely an idolator of republicaniſm, it is Samuel Adams; and never a man united more virtues to give reſpect to his opinions. He has the exceſs of republican virtues, untainted probity, ſimplicity, modeſty, and, above all, firmneſs: he will have no capitulation with abuſes; he fears as much the deſpotiſm of virtue and talents, as the deſpotiſm of vice. Cheriſhing the greateſt love and reſpect for Waſhington,

he voted to take from him the command at the end of a certain term; he recollected that Cæsar could not have succeeded in overturning the republic but by prolonging the command of the army. The event, however, has proved that the application was false.

Samuel Adams is the best supporter of the party of Governor Hancock. You know the great sacrifices which the latter made in the revolution. The same spirit of patriotism animates him still. A great generosity, united to a vast ambition, forms his character: he has the virtues and the address of popularism; that is to say, that, without effort, he shews himself the equal, and the friend of all. I supped at his house with a hatter, who appeared to be in great familiarity with him. Mr. Hancock is amiable and polite, when he wishes to be; but they say he does not always chuse it. He has a marvellous gout, which dispenses him from all attentions, and forbids the access to his house. Mr. Hancock has not the learning of his rival, Mr. Bowdoin; he seems even to disdain the sciences. The latter is more esteemed by enlightened men; the former more beloved by the people. Among the partizans of the governor, I distinguished two brothers, by the name of Jarvis; one is comptroller general of the state; the other, a physician, and member of the legislature. The first has as much calmness of examination and profundity of thought, as the latter has of rapidity in his penetration, agility in his ideas, and vivacity in his expression. They resemble each other in one point, that is, in simplicity; a virtue born with the Americans, and only acquired with us. If I were to paint to you all the estimable characters which I found

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in this charming town, my portraits would never be finiſhed. I found every where, that hoſpitality, that affability, that friendſhip for the French which M. Caſtellux has ſo much exalted.

The parts adjacent to Boſton, are charming and well cultivated, adorned with elegant houſes and agreeable ſituations. Among the ſurrounding eminences you diſtinguiſh Bunker-hill. You arrive at Bunker-hill by the ſuperb bridge at Charleſton, of which I have ſpoken. This town was entirely burnt by the Engliſh, in their attack of Bunker-hill. It is at preſent rebuilt with elegant houſes of wood. You ſee here the ſtore of Mr. Gorham, formerly preſident of Congreſs. This hill offers one of the moſt aſtoniſhing monuments of American valour; it is impoſſible to conceive how ſeven or eight hundred men, badly armed, and fatigued, having juſt conſtructed, in haſte, a few miſerable intrenchments, and who knew nothing, or very little, of the uſe of arms, could reſiſt, for ſo long a time, the attack of the Engliſh troops, freſh, well diſciplined, ſucceeding each other in the attack. But ſuch was the vigorous reſiſtance of the Americans, that the Engliſh loſt many men, killed and wounded, before they became maſters of the place.

The taxable heads of this ſtate are upwards of one hundred thouſand, acres of arable land two hundred thouſand, paſturage three hundred and forty thouſand, uncultivated two millions, tons of ſhipping at Boſton ſixty thouſand.

From Boſton I proceeded to New York by land. The diſtance between theſe towns, is about two hundred and fifty miles. Many perſons have united in eſtabliſhing a kind of diligence, or public ſtage, which paſſes regularly for the

the convenience of travellers. In the ſummer ſeaſon, the journey is performed in four days.

We ſet out from Boſton at four o'clock in the morning, and paſſed through the handſome town of Cambridge. The country appears well cultivated as far as Weſton, where we breakfaſted; thence we paſſed to Worceſter to dinner, forty-eight miles from Boſton. This town is elegant, and well peopled: the printer, Iſaiah Thomas, has rendered it famous through all the continent. He prints moſt of the works which appear; and it muſt be granted, that his editions are correct. Thomas is the *Didot* of the United States. The tavern, where we had a good American dinner, is a charming houſe of wood, well ornamented; it is kept by Mr. Peaſe, one of the proprietors of the Boſton ſtage.

We ſlept the firſt night at Spenſer, a new village in the midſt of the woods. The houſe of the tavern was but half built; but the part that was finiſhed, had an air of cleanlineſs which pleaſes, becauſe it announces that degree of competence, thoſe moral and delicate habits, which are never ſeen in our villages. The chambers were neat, the beds good, the ſheets clean, ſupper paſſable; cyder, tea, punch, and all for fourteen pence a-head. There were four of us. Now, compare, my friend, this order of things with what you have a thouſand times ſeen in our French taverns—chambers dirty and hideous, beds infected with bugs, thoſe inſects which Sterne calls the rightful inhabitants of taverns, if, indeed, long poſſeſſion gives a right; ſheets ill waſhed, and exhaling a fetid odour; bad covering, wine adulterated, and every thing at its weight in gold; greedy ſervants, who are complaiſant only in

proportion

proportion to your equipage; grovelling towards a rich traveller, and inſolent towards him whom they ſuſpect of mediocrity. Such are the eternal torments of travellers in France: add to this, the fear of being robbed, the precautions neceſſary to be taken every night to prevent it; while, in the United States, you travel without fear, as without arms; and you ſleep quietly among the woods, in an open chamber of a houſe, whoſe doors ſhut without locks. And now judge which country merits the name of civilized, and which bears the aſpect of the greateſt general happineſs.

We left Spenſer at four o'clock in the morning. New carriage, new proprietor. It was a carriage without ſprings, a kind of waggon. A Frenchman, who was with me, began, at the firſt jolt, to curſe the carriage, the driver, and the country. Let us wait, ſaid I, a little, before we form a judgment: every cuſtom has its cauſe; there is doubtleſs ſome reaſon why this kind of carriage is preferred to one hung with ſprings. In fact, by the time we had run thirty miles among the rocks, we were convinced that a carriage with ſprings would very ſoon have been overſet and broken.

The traveller is well recompenſed for the fatigue of this route, by the variety of romantic ſituations, by the beauty of the proſpects which it offers at each ſtep, by the perpetual contraſt of ſavage nature and the efforts of art. Thoſe vaſt ponds of water, which loſe themſelves in the woods; thoſe rivulets, that waſh the meadow, newly ſnatched from uncultivated nature; thoſe neat houſes, ſcattered among the foreſts, and containing ſwarms of children, joyous and healthy, and well clad; thoſe fields, covered with trunks

of

of trees, whoſe deſtruction is committed to the hand of time, and which are covered under the leaves of Indian corn; thoſe oaks which preſerve ſtill the image of their ancient vigour, but which, girdled at the bottom, raiſe no longer to heaven but dry and naked branches, which the firſt ſtroke of wind muſt bring to the earth: all theſe objects, ſo new to an European, arreſt him, abſorb him, and plunge him into an agreeable reverie. The depths of the foreſts, the prodigious ſize and height of the trees, call to his mind the time when the ſavages were the only inhabitants of this country. This ancient tree has beheld them; they filled theſe foreſts: they have now given place to another generation. The cultivator fears no more their vengeance; his muſket, formerly his neceſſary companion at the plough, now reſts ſuſpended in his houſe. Alone, with his wife and children, in the midſt of the foreſts, he ſleeps quietly, he labours in peace, and he is happy. Such were the ideas which occupied me the greater part of my journey: they ſometimes gave place to others, ariſing from the view of the country houſes, which are ſeen at ſmall diſtances through all the foreſts of the Maſſachuſetts. Neatneſs embelliſhes them all. They have frequently but one ſtory and a garret; their walls are papered; tea and coffee appear on their tables; their daughters, clothed in calicoes, diſplay the traits of civility, frankneſs, and decency; virtues which always follow contentment and eaſe. Almoſt all theſe houſes are inhabited by men who are both cultivators and artiſans; one is a tanner, another a ſhoemaker, another ſells goods; but all are farmers. The country ſtores are well aſſorted; you find in the ſame

ſhop,

ſhop, hats, nails, liquors. This order of things is neceſſary in a new ſettlement; it is to be hoped that it will continue; for this general retail occupies leſs hands, and detaches fewer from the great object of agriculture. It is not ſuppoſed that one third of the land of Maſſachuſetts is under cultivation: it is difficult to ſay when it will all be ſo, conſidering the invitations of the weſtern country and the province of Maine. But the uncleared lands are all located, and the proprietors have incloſed them with fences of different ſorts. Theſe ſeveral kinds of fences are compoſed of different materials, which announce the different degrees of culture in the country. Some are compoſed of the light branches of trees; others, of the trunks of trees laid one upon the other; a third ſort is made of long pieces of wood, ſupporting each other by making angles at the end; a fourth kind is made of long pieces of hewn timber, ſupported at the ends by paſſing into holes made in an upright poſt; a fifth is like the garden fences in England; the laſt kind is made of ſtones thrown together to the height of three feet. This laſt is moſt durable, and is common in Maſſachuſetts.

From Spenſer to Brookfield is fifteen miles. The road is good as far as this laſt town. A town in the interior of America, deſignates an extent of eight or ten miles, ~~w~~here are ſcattered a hundred or two hundred houſes. This diviſion into towns, is neceſſary for aſſembling the inhabitants for elections and other purpoſes. Without this diviſion, the inhabitants might go ſometimes to one aſſembly, and ſometimes to another, which would lead to confuſion. Beſides, it would render it impoſſible to know the population of any particular canton; this ſerves for the

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baſis of many regulations. No people carry their attention, in this particular, ſo far as the Americans.

The ſituation of Brookfield is pictureſque. While breakfaſt was preparing, I read the gazettes and journals, which are diſtributed through all the country. Our breakfaſt conſiſted of coffee, tea, boiled and roaſted meat; the whole for ten pence, New England currency, for each traveller. From this place to Wilbraham, the road is covered with rocks, and bordered with woods. At this place, a new proprietor, and a new carriage. A ſmall light carriage, well ſuſpended, and drawn by two horſes, took place of our heavy waggon. We could not conceive how five of us could ſit in this little Pariſian chariot, and demanded another. The conductor ſaid he had no other; that there were ſo few travellers in this part of the road, that he could not afford to run with more than two horſes; that moſt of the travellers from New York ſtopped in Connecticut, and moſt of thoſe from Boſton at Worceſter. We were obliged to ſubmit. We ſtarted like lightning; and arrived, in an hour and a quarter, at Springfield, ten miles. This road appeared really enchanting: I ſeemed the whole way to be travelling in one of the alleys of the Palais-royal. This man was one of the moſt lively and induſtrious, at the ſame time the moſt patient, I ever met with. In my two journeys through this place, I have heard many travellers treat him with very harſh language: he either anſwers not at all, or anſwers by giving good reaſons. The greater part of men of this profeſſion, in this country, obſerve the ſame conduct in ſuch caſes;

while

while the leaſt of theſe injuries in Europe would have occaſioned quarrels.

Springfield, where we dined, reſembles an European town; that is, the houſes are placed near together. On a hill that overlooks this town, is a magazine of ammunition and arms belonging to the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. We ſet out from Springfield, after dinner, for Hartford. We paſſed, in a ferry-boat, the river that waſhes the environs of Springfield.

I have paſſed twice through Hartford, and both times in the night; ſo that I cannot give an exact deſcription of it. It is a conſiderable rural town; the greater part of the inhabitants live by agriculture; ſo that eaſe and abundance univerſally reign in it. It is conſidered as one of the moſt agreeable in Connecticut, on account of its ſociety. It is the reſidence of one of the moſt reſpectable men in the United States, Colonel Wadſworth. He enjoys a conſiderable fortune, which he owes entirely to his own labour and induſtry. Perfectly verſed in agriculture and commerce; univerſally known for the ſervice he rendered to the American and French armies during the war; generally eſteemed and beloved for his great virtues; he crowns all his qualities by an amiable and ſingular modeſty. His addreſs is frank, his countenance open, and his diſcourſe ſimple. Thus you cannot fail to love him as ſoon as you ſee him; eſpecially as ſoon as you know him. I here deſcribe the impreſſion he made on me.

The environs of Hartford diſplay a charming cultivated country; neat, elegant houſes, vaſt meadows covered with herds of cattle of an enormous ſize, which furniſh the market of New-

York, and even Philadelphia. You there ſee ſheep reſembling ours; but not, like ours, watched by ſhepherds, and tormented by dogs: hogs of a prodigious ſize, ſurrounded with numerous families of pigs, wearing on the neck a triangular piece of wood, invented to hinder them from paſſing the barriers which incloſe the cultivated fields; geeſe and turkeys in abundance, as well as potatoes and all other vegetables. Productions of every kind are excellent and cheap: the fruits, however, do not partake of this excellent quality, becauſe they are leſs attended to. Apples ſerve for making cyder; and great quantities of them are likewiſe exported.

To deſcribe the neighbourhood of Hartford, is to deſcribe Connecticut; it is to deſcribe the neighbourhood of Middleton, of Newhaven, and other places. Nature and art have here diſplayed all their treaſures; it is really the Paradiſe of the United States. M. de Crevecœur, who has been ſo much reproached with exaggeration, is even below the truth in his deſcription of this part of the country.

This ſtate owes all its advantages to its ſituation. It is a fertile plain, incloſed between two mountains, which render difficult its communications by land with the other ſtates. It is waſhed by the ſuperb river Connecticut, which falls into the ſea, and furniſhes a ſafe and eaſy navigation. Agriculture being the baſis of the riches of this ſtate, they are here more equally divided. There is here more equality, leſs miſery, more ſimplicity, more virtue, more of every thing which conſtitutes republicaniſm.

Connecticut appears like one continued town. On quitting Hartford, you enter Wethersfield, a

town not leſs elegant, very long, conſiſting of houſes well built. They tell me it gave birth to the famous Silas Deane, one of the firſt promoters of the American revolution; from a ſchoolmaſter in this town, elevated to the rank of an envoy from congreſs to Europe.

Wethersfield is remarkable for its vaſt fields uniformly covered with onions; of which great quantities are exported to the Weſt Indies. It is likewiſe remarkable for its elegant meeting-houſe, or church. On Sunday it is ſaid to offer an enchanting ſpectacle, by the number of young handſome perſons who aſſemble there, and by the agreeable muſic with which they intermingle the divine ſervice.

Newhaven yields not to Wethersfield for the beauty of the fair ſex. At their balls, during the winter, it is not rare to ſee a hundred charming girls, adorned with thoſe brilliant complexions ſeldom met with in journeying to the ſouth, and dreſſed in elegant ſimplicity. The beauty of complexion is as ſtriking in Connecticut, as its numerous population. You will not go into a tavern without meeting with neatneſs, decency, and dignity. The tables are ſerved by a young girl, decent and pretty; by an amiable mother, whoſe age has not effaced the agreeableneſs of her features; by men who have that air of dignity which the idea of equality inſpires; and who are not ignoble and baſe, like the greateſt part of our tavern-keepers. On the road you often meet thoſe fair Connecticut-girls, either driving a carriage, or alone on horſeback, galloping boldly; with an elegant hat on the head, a white apron, and a calico gown;—uſages which prove at once the early cultivation of their reaſon, ſince they

are truſted ſo young to themſelves, the ſafety of the road, and the general innocence of manners. They are here indeed under the protection of public morals, and of their own innocence: it is the conſciouſneſs of this innocence, which renders them ſo complaiſant, and ſo good.

Other proofs of the proſperity of Connecticut, are the number of new houſes every-where to be ſeen, and the number of rural manufactories ariſing on every ſide, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. But even in this ſtate there are many lands to ſell. A principal cauſe of this is the taſte for emigration to the weſtern country. The deſire of finding better, imbitters the enjoyments even of the inhabitants of Connecticut. Perhaps this taſte ariſes from the hope of eſcaping taxes, which, though ſmall, and almoſt nothing in compariſon with thoſe of Europe, appear very heavy. In a country like the United States, every thing favours the forming of new ſettlements. The new comers are ſure, every where, of finding friends and brothers, who ſpeak their own language and admire their courage. Proviſions are cheap the whole way; they have nothing to fear from the ſearch of cuſtom-houſe clerks, on entering from one province to another, nor river-tolls, nor impoſts, nor vexations;—man is free as the air he breathes *.

Before arriving at Middleton, where we were to breakfaſt, we ſtopped on the hill which overlooks that town, and the immenſe valley on which it is built. It is one of the fineſt and richeſt proſpects that I have ſeen in America. I could not

* What an exaggerated deſcription! but it carries its antidote in the impoſſibility of its being literally true.

ſatiate

ſatiate myſelf with the variety of the ſcenes which this landſcape laid before me.

Middleton is built like Hartford: broad ſtreets, trees on the ſides, and handſome houſes. We changed horſes and carriages at Durham; and after admiring a number of picturesque ſituations on the road, we arrived at Newhaven, where we dined. The univerſity here enjoys a great reputation through the continent; the port is much frequented; the ſociety is ſaid to be very agreeable. The univerſity is preſided over by a reſpectable and learned man, Mr. Stiles.

We are obliged to quit this charming town, to arrive in the evening at Fairfield. We paſſed the inconvenient ferry at Stratford; afterwards, aſſailed by a violent ſtorm, we were well enough defended from it by a double curtain of leather which covered the carriage. The driver, though pierced through with the rain, continued his route through the obſcurity of a very dark night. Heaven, however, preſerved us from accident. We paſſed the night at Fairfield, a town unhappily burnt in the laſt war. Moſt of the houſes are rebuilt; but thoſe who have ſeen this town before the war, regret its ancient ſtate, and the air of eaſe, and even opulence, that then diſtinguiſhed it.

At Fairfield finiſhed the agreeable part of our journey. From this town to Rye, thirty-three miles, we had to ſtruggle againſt rocks and precipices. I knew not which to admire moſt in the driver, his intrepidity or dexterity. I cannot conceive how he avoided twenty times daſhing the carriage in pieces, and how his horſes could retain themſelves in deſcending the ſtair-caſes of rocks. One of theſe is called Horſeneck; a chain

of rocks ſo ſteep, that if a horſe ſhould ſlip, the carriage muſt be thrown into a valley two or three hundred feet below.

From Horſeneck we paſſed to New Rochelle, a colony founded the laſt century by ſome French emigrants, which appears not to have proſpered. Perhaps this appearance reſults from the laſt war; for this place ſuffered much from the neighbourhood of the Engliſh, whoſe head-quarters were at New-York. This place, however, will always be celebrated for having given birth to one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed men of the laſt revolution —a republican remarkable for his firmneſs and his coolneſs, a writer eminent for his nervous ſtyle, and his cloſe logic, Mr. Jay, at preſent miniſter of foreign affairs.

The following anecdote will give an idea of the firmneſs of this republican: at the time of laying the foundation of the peace in 1783, M. de Vergennes, actuated by ſecret motives, wiſhed to engage the ambaſſadors of congreſs to confine their demands to the fiſheries, and to renounce the weſtern territory; that is, the vaſt and fertile country beyond the Alleganey mountains. This miniſter required particularly, that the independence of America ſhould not be conſidered as the baſis of the peace; but, ſimply, that it ſhould be conditional. To ſucceed in this project, it was neceſſary to gain over Jay and Adams. Mr. Jay declared to M. de Vergennes, that he would ſooner loſe his life than ſign ſuch a treaty; that the Americans fought for independence; that they would never lay down their arms till it ſhould be fully conſecrated; that the court of France had recogniſed it, and that there would be a contradiction in her conduct, if ſhe ſhould deviate from that point.

point. It was not difficult for Mr. Jay to bring Mr. Adams to this determination; and M. de Vergennes could never ſhake his firmneſs.

Conſider here the ſtrange concurrence of events. The American, who forced the court of France, and gave laws to the Engliſh miniſter, was the grandſon of a French refugee of the laſt century, who fled to New Rochelle. Thus the deſcendant of a man, whom Louis XIV. had perſecuted with a fooliſh rage, impoſed his deciſions on the deſcendant of that ſovereign, in his own palace, a hundred years after the baniſhment of the anceſtor.

Mr. Jay was equally immoveable by all the efforts of the Engliſh miniſter, whom M. de Vergennes had gained to his party. He proved to him, that it was the intereſt of the Engliſh themſelves, that the Americans ſhould be independent, and not in a ſituation which ſhould render them dependent on their ally. He converted him to this ſentiment; for his reaſoning determined the court of St. James's. When Mr. Jay paſſed through England to return to America, Lord Shelbourne deſired to ſee him. Accuſed by the nation of having granted too much to the Americans, he deſired to know, in caſe he had perſiſted not to accord to the Americans the weſtern territory, if they would have continued the war? Mr. Jay anſwered, that he believed it, and that he ſhould have adviſed it.

It is thirty-one miles from Rye to New-York. The road is good, even, and gravelly. We ſtopped at one of the beſt taverns I have ſeen in America. It is kept by Mrs. Haviland. We had an excellent dinner, and cheap. To other circumſtances very agreeable, which gave us good cheer at this houſe, the air of the miſtreſs was

infinitely

infinitely graceful and obliging; and she had a charming daughter, genteel and well educated, who played very well the forte-piano. Before arriving at New-York, we passed by those places which the English had so well fortified while they were masters of them.

On the 12th of October, we set out from Boston * at half past seven in the morning, and arrived by six in the evening at Providence. It is forty-nine miles; the road good, the soil stony, gravelly, and sandy, and, as usual for such a soil, covered with pines. The country, bordering the road, appears neither fertile nor well peopled: you may here see houses in decay, and children covered with rags. They had, however, good health, and good complexions. The silence which reigns in the other American towns on Sunday, reigns at Providence even on Monday. Every thing here announces the decline of business. Few vessels are to be seen in the port. They were building, however, two distilleries; as if the manufactories of this poison were not already sufficiently numerous in the United States. Whether it be from prejudice or reality, I seemed to perceive every where the silence of death, the effect of paper-money †. I seemed to see, in every face, the air of a Jew; the result of a traffic founded on fraud and finesse. I seemed to see, likewise, in every countenance, the effects of the contempt which the other states bear to this, and the consciousness of meriting that contempt. The paper-money at this time was at a discount of ten for one.

* Though this journey was made after the date of several of the succeeding letters, it was thought best to insert it here, as an appendage to the other journey by land.

† What a severe philippic on the revolution financiers of France!

I went

I went from Providence to Newport in a packet boat. This journey might be made by land; but I preferred the water. We arrived in ſeven hours and a half; and during two hours we had contrary wind. This diſtance is thirty miles. We never loſt ſight of land; but it offers nothing pictureſque or curious. A few houſes, ſome trees, and a ſandy ſoil, are all that appears to the eye.

The port of Newport is conſidered as one of the beſt in the United States. The bottom is good, the harbour capable of receiving the largeſt ſhips, and ſeems deſtined by nature to be of great conſequence. This place was one of the principal ſcenes of the laſt war. The ſucceſſive arrival of the American, Engliſh, and French armies, left here a conſiderable quantity of money.

Since the peace, every thing is changed. The reign of ſolitude is only interrupted by groups of idle men, ſtanding with folded arms at the corners of the ſtreets; houſes falling to ruin; miſerable ſhops, which preſent nothing but a few coarſe ſtuffs, or baſkets of apples, and other articles of little value; graſs growing in the public ſquare, in front of the court of juſtice; rags ſtuffed in the windows, or hung upon hideous women and lean unquiet children.

Every thing announces miſery, the triumph of ill faith, and the influence of a bad government. You will have a perfect idea of it, by calling to mind the impreſſion once made upon us on entering the city of Liege. Recollect the crowd of mendicants beſieging us at every ſtep, to implore charity; that irregular maſs of Gothic houſes falling to ruin, windows without glaſs, roofs half uncovered; recal to your mind the figures of men ſcarcely bearing the print of humanity,

children

children in tatters, and houſes hung with rags; in ſhort, repreſent to yourſelf the aſylum of famine, the raſcality and the impudence that general miſery inſpires, and you will recollect Liege, and have an image of Newport.

Theſe two places are nevertheleſs well ſituated for commerce, and ſurrounded by lands by no means unfruitful; but at Liege, the productions of the country ſerve to fatten about fifty idle eccleſiaſtics, who, by the aid of ancient religious prejudices, riot in pleaſure, in the midſt of thouſands of unhappy wretches who are dying with hunger. At Newport, the people, deceived by two or three knaves, have brought on their own miſery, and deſtroyed the bleſſings which Nature had laviſhed upon them. They have themſelves ſanctified fraud; and this act has rendered them odious to their neighbours, driven commerce from their doors, and labour from their fields.

The ſtate of Rhode Iſland will never again ſee thoſe happy days, till they take from circulation their paper-money, and reform their government. The magiſtrates ſhould be leſs dependent on the people than they are at preſent, and the members of the legiſlature ſhould not be ſo often elected. It is inconceivable that ſo many honeſt people ſhould groan under the preſent anarchy; that ſo many Quakers, who compoſe the baſis of the population of this ſtate, ſhould not combine together to introduce this reform*.—If this reform is not ſpeedily executed, I doubt not but the ſtate will be unpeopled.

A great part of the emigration for the ſettle-

* This ſtate has ſince acceded to the new federal government, and no doubt, in our author's opinion, wiped off all paſt diſgrace.

ment

ment at Muſkingum, on the Ohio, is from this ſtate. General Varnum is at their head. A number of families are preparing to join them. Nearly all the honeſt people of Newport would quit the place, if they could ſell their effects. I doubt not, likewiſe, but the example of Rhode Iſland will be a proof, in the eyes of many people, that a republican government is diſaſtrous. This example, however, only proves, that there ſhould not be a too frequent rotation in the legiſlative power, and that there ought to be a ſtability in the executive; that there is as much danger in placing the magiſtrates in a ſtate of too great dependence on the people, as there is in making them too independent.

But in the midſt of their preſent diſorders, you hear nothing of robberies, of murders, or of mendicity; for the American poor does not degrade himſelf ſo far as to abjure all ideas of equity, and all ſhame. And this is a trait which ſtill marks the difference between Newport and Liege; the Rhode-iſlander does not beg, and he does not ſteal—the ancient American blood ſtill runs in his veins.

I was detained at Newport by the ſouth-weſt winds, till the 13th, when we ſet ſail at midnight; the captain not wiſhing to ſail ſooner, for fear of touching before day on Block Iſland. The wind and tide carried us at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour; and we ſhould have arrived at New York the next evening, but we were detained at Hellgate, a kind of gulph, eight miles from New York. This is a narrow paſſage, formed by the approach of Long Iſland to York Iſland, and rendered horrible by rocks, concealed at high water. The whirlpool of this gulph is little perceived at low water; but it is not ſurpriſing

priſing that veſſels which know it not, ſhould be daſhed in pieces. They ſpeak of an Engliſh frigate loſt there the laſt war. This Hellgate is an obſtacle to the navigation of this ſtraight; but it is not rare, in ſummer, to run from Newport to New York, two hundred miles, in twenty hours. As you approach this city, the coaſts of theſe two iſlands preſent the moſt agreeable ſpectacle. They are adorned with elegant country-houſes. Long Iſland is celebrated for its high ſtate of cultivation. The price of paſſage and your table, from Providence to New York, is ſix dollars.

I ought to ſay one word of the packet-boats of this part of America, and of the facilities which they offer. Though, in my opinion, it is more advantageous, and often leſs expenſive, to go by land; yet I owe ſome praiſes to the cleanlineſs and good order obſervable in theſe boats. The one which I was in contained fourteen beds, ranged in two rows, one above the other; every one had its little window. The chamber was well aired; ſo that you do not breathe that nauſeous air which infects the packets of the Engliſh Channel. It was well varniſhed; and two cloſe corners were made in the poop, which ſerve as private places. The proviſions were good. There is not a little town on all this coaſt, but what has this kind of packets going to New York; ſuch as New Haven, New London, &c. They have all the ſame neatneſs, the ſame embelliſhment, the ſame convenience for travellers. There is nothing like it on the old continent.

Nothing is more magnificent than the ſituation of New York—between two majeſtic rivers, the north and the eaſt. The former ſeparates it from New Jerſey: it is ſo deep, that ſhips of the line

anchor

anchor in it. I have at this moment under my eyes, a French ſhip of one thouſand two hundred tons, deſtined to the Eaſt India trade, which has come into it to refit, Two inconveniences are, however, experienced in this river; the deſcent of ice in the winter, and the force of the north-weſt wind. Ships mount this commodious river as far as Albany, a town ſituated a hundred and ſeventy miles from New York.

Albany will yield very ſoon, in proſperity, to a town called Hudſon, built on a ſpot where, four years ago, there was only a ſimple farm-houſe. At preſent it contains a hundred good dwelling houſes, a court-houſe, public fountains, &c. More than fifty ſhips belong to it, which export the American productions to the iſlands and to Europe. Two whaling ſhips are of the number. Their veſſels do not winter idly, like thoſe of Albany, in the port. They trade in the Weſt Indies during this ſeaſon. Poughkeepſie, on the ſame river, has doubled its population and its commerce ſince the war.

The inattention of the people of Albany to foreign commerce, may be attributed to the fertility of their lands. Agriculture abounds there, and they like not to hazard themſelves to the dangers of the ſea, for a fortune which they can draw from the bounty of the ſoil which ſurrounds them. The fertility of the uncultivated lands, and the advantages which they offer, attract ſettlers to this quarter. New ſettlements are forming here; but ſlowly, becauſe other ſtates furniſh lands, if not as fertile, at leaſt attended with more advantages for agriculture, as they are leſs expoſed to the exceſſive rigours of ſo long a winter.

When this part of America ſhall be well peopled, the north river will offer one of the fineſt channels for the exportation of its productions. Navigable for more than two hundred miles from the ocean, it communicates with the river Mohawk, with the lakes Oneida, Ontario, Erie, and all that part of Canada. The falls which are found in this route may be eaſily vanquiſhed by canals, ſo eaſy to conſtruct in a country abounding with men and money. This river communicates with Canada in another quarter, by the lakes George and Champlaine. It is this ſituation which will render New York the channel of the fur-trade, at leaſt during the exiſtence of this kind of commerce, which ſuppoſes the exiſtence of ſavages, and great quantities of uncultivated lands.

By the Eaſt River, New York communicates with Long Iſland, and with all the eaſtern ſtates. Ships of the line anchor likewiſe in this river, and near the quay, where they are ſheltered from the ſtorms which ſometimes ravage theſe coaſts. This happy ſituation of New York will explain to you the cauſes why the Engliſh give it the preference over the other parts of America. Being the great market for Connecticut and New Jerſey, it pours in upon thoſe ſtates the productions of the Eaſt Indies, and of Europe. It is difficult to obtain an account of the exportations and importations of this ſtate. Colonel Lamb, who is at the head of the cuſtom-houſe, invelopes all his operations in the moſt profound myſtery; it is an effect of the Dutch ſpirit, that ſtill governs this city. The Dutchman conceals his gains and his commerce; he lives but for himſelf.

The Engliſh have a great predilection for this city, and for its productions; thus its port is always covered with Engliſh ſhips. They prefer even its wheat; ſo that the American merchants bring wheat from Virginia, and ſell it for that of New York.

The preſence of congreſs with the diplomatic body, and the concourſe of ſtrangers, contribute much to extend here the ravages of luxury. The inhabitants are far from complaining at it; they prefer the ſplendor of wealth, and the ſhow of enjoyment, to the ſimplicity of manners, and the pure pleaſures reſulting from it. The uſage of ſmoking has not diſappeared in this town, with the other cuſtoms of their fathers, the Dutch. They ſmoke cigars, which come from the Spaniſh iſlands. They are leaves of tobacco rolled in form of a tube, of ſix inches long, which are ſmoked without the aid of any inſtrument. This uſage is revolting to the French. It may appear diſagreeable to the women, by deſtroying the purity of the breath. The philoſopher condemns it, as it is a ſuperfluous want.

It has, however, one advantage; it accuſtoms to meditation, and prevents loquacity. The ſmoker aſks a queſtion; the anſwer comes two minutes after, and it is well-founded. The cigar renders to a man the ſervice that the philoſopher drew from the glaſs of water, which he drank when he was in anger.

The great commerce of this city, and the facility of living here, augments the population of the ſtate with great rapidity. In 1773, they reckoned one hundred and forty-eight thouſand one hundred and twenty-four whites; in 1786, the

number was two hundred and nineteen thouſand nine hundred and ninety-ſix.

If there is a town on the American continent where the Engliſh luxury diſplays its follies, it is New York. You will find here the Engliſh faſhions. In the dreſs of the women, you will ſee the moſt brilliant ſilks, gauzes, hats, and borrowed hair. Equipages are rare, but they are elegant. The men have more ſimplicity in their dreſs; they diſdain gewgaws, but they take their revenge in the luxury of the table.

Luxury forms already, in this town, a claſs of men very dangerous in ſociety—I mean bachelors. The expence of women cauſes matrimony to be dreaded by men.

Tea forms, as in England, the baſis of the principal parties of pleaſure. Fruits, though more attended to in this ſtate, are far from poſſeſſing the beauty and goodneſs of thoſe of Europe. I have ſeen trees, in September, loaded at once with apples and with flowers.

M. de Crevecœur is right in his deſcription of the abundance and good quality of proviſions at New York, in vegetables, fleſh, and eſpecially in fiſh. It is difficult to unite ſo many advantages in one place. Proviſions are dearer in New York, than in any other of the northern or middle ſtates. Many things, eſpecially thoſe of luxury, are dearer here than in France. A hair-dreſſer aſks twenty ſhillings per month; waſhing coſts four ſhillings for a dozen pieces.

Strangers, who, having lived a long time in America, tax the Americans with cheating, have declared to me, that this accuſation muſt be confined to the towns, and that in the country you will

will find them honeſt. The French are the moſt forward in making theſe complaints; and they believe that the Americans are more trickiſh with them than with the Engliſh. If this were a fact, I ſhould not be aſtoniſhed at it. The French, whom I have ſeen, are eternally crying up the ſervices which their nation has rendered to the Americans, and oppoſing their manners and cuſtoms, decrying their government, exalting the favours rendered by the French government towards the Americans, and diminiſhing thoſe of congreſs to the French.

One of the greateſt errors of travellers, is to calculate prices of proviſions in a country, by the prices in taverns and boarding-houſes. It is a falſe baſis; we ſhould take, for the town, the price at the market, and this is about half the price that one pays at the tavern. This baſis would be ſtill falſe, if it were applied to the country. There are many articles which are abundant in the country, and are ſcarcely worth the trouble of collecting and bringing to market. Theſe reflections appear to me neceſſary to put one on his guard againſt believing too readily in the prices eſtimated by haſty travellers. Other circumſtances likewiſe influence the price; ſuch, for example, as war.

Theſe prices were about double in New York during the war, to what they are now. Boarding and lodging by the week, is from four to ſix dollars. The fees of lawyers are out of all proportion; they are, as in England, exceſſive. Phyſicians have not the ſame advantage in this reſpect as lawyers; the good health generally enjoyed here, renders them little neceſſary; yet they are ſufficiently numerous.

I converſed with ſome of them, and aſked what were the diſeaſes moſt common; they told me, billious fevers; and that the greateſt part of diſeaſes among them were occaſioned by exceſſive cold, and the want of care; but there are few diſeaſes here, added they. The air is pure; the inhabitants are tolerably temperate; the people in good circumſtances are not ſufficiently rich to give themſelves up to thoſe debaucheries which kill ſo many in Europe; and there are no poor, proviſions being ſo cheap.

Let thoſe men who doubt the prodigious effects that liberty produces on man, and on his induſtry, tranſport themſelves to America. What miracles will they here behold! Whilſt in many places of Europe the villages and towns are falling to ruin, rather than augmenting, new edifices are here riſing on all ſides. New York was in great part conſumed by fire in the time of the war. The veſtiges of this terrible conflagration diſappear; the activity which reigns every where, announces a riſing poſterity: they enlarge in every quarter, and extend their ſtreets. Elegant buildings, in the Engliſh ſtyle, take place of thoſe ſharp-roofed, ſloping houſes of the Dutch. You find ſome ſtill ſtanding in the Dutch ſtyle; they afford ſome pleaſure to the European obſerver; they trace to him the origin of this colony, and the manners of thoſe who inhabit it, whilſt they call to his mind the ancient Belgic ſtate.

I walk out by the ſide of the North River; what a rapid change in the ſpace of ſix weeks! The river is forced back two hundred feet, and, by a ſimple mechaniſm, they have conſtructed a kind of encaſement, compoſed of large trunks of trees croſſing each other at convenient diſtances,

and

and faſtened together by ſtrong beams, they conduct this floating dyke to the place where it is to be fixed, and where there is often forty feet of water. Arrived at its deſtination, it is ſunk with an enormous weight of ſtones. On all ſides houſes are riſing, and ſtreets extending; I ſee nothing but buſy workmen building and repairing.

At the ſame time they are erecting a building for congreſs. They are likewiſe repairing the hoſpital: this building is in a bad condition; not a ſick perſon could be lodged in it at the end of the war; it was a building almoſt abandoned; they have reſtored the adminiſtration of it to the Quakers, from whom it had been taken away during the war; they have ordered it to be repaired, and the reparations are executing with the greateſt vigour. This building is vaſt; it is of brick, and perfectly well-ſituated on the bank of the North River. It enjoys every advantage: air the moſt ſalubrious, that may be renewed at pleaſure; water in abundance; pleaſant and extenſive walks for the ſick; magnificent and agreeable proſpects; out of the town, and yet ſufficiently near it.

It is likewiſe to the Quakers, to theſe men ſo much calumniated, of whom I ſhall ſpeak more fully hereafter, that is owing the order obſerveable in the work-houſe, of which they have the ſuperintendence.

It is to their zeal alſo that is to be attributed the formation of the ſociety for the abolition of ſlavery.

A ſociety of a more pompous title, but whoſe ſervices are leſs real, has been lately formed. Its object is the general promotion of ſcience and uſeful knowledge. They aſſemble rarely, and they

do

do nothing. They have, however, eight hundred pounds in the bank, which remain idle. Their preſident is Governor Clinton; and he is any other thing, rather than a man of learning.

This ſociety will have little ſucceſs here—the Dutch are no lovers of letters.

But though men of learning do not abound in this city, the preſence of congreſs attracts, from time to time, at leaſt from all parts of America, the moſt celebrated men. I have ſeen, particularly, Meſſrs. Jay, Maddiſon, Hamilton, King, and Thornton. I have already ſpoken to you of the firſt.

The name of Maddiſon, celebrated in America, is well known in Europe, by the merited eulogium made of him by his countryman and friend, Mr. Jefferſon.

Though ſtill young, he has rendered the greateſt ſervices to Virginia, to the American confederation, and to liberty and humanity in general. He contributed much with Mr. White, in reforming the civil and criminal codes of his country. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf, particularly, in the conventions for the acceptation of the new federal ſyſtem. Virginia balanced a long time in adhering to it. Mr Maddiſon determined to it the members of the convention, by his eloquence and his logic. This republican appears to be but about thirty-three years of age. He had, when I ſaw him, an air of fatigue; perhaps it was the effect of the immenſe labours to which he has devoted himſelf for ſome time paſt. His look announces a cenſor; his converſation diſcovers the man of learning; and his reſerve was that of a man conſcious of his talents and of his duties.

During

During the dinner, to which he invited me, they ſpoke of the refuſal of North Carolina to accede to the new conſtitution. The majority againſt it was one hundred. Mr. Maddiſon believed that this refuſal would have no weight on the minds of the Americans; and that it would not impede the operations of congreſs. I told him, that though this refuſal might be regarded as a trifle in America, it would have great weight in Europe; that they would never enquire there into the motives which dictated it, nor conſider the ſmall conſequence of this ſtate in the confederation; that it would be regarded as a germe of diviſion, calculated to retard the operations of congreſs; and that certainly this idea would prevent the reſurrection of the American credit.

Mr. Maddiſon attributed this refuſal to the attachment of a great part of the inhabitants of that ſtate to their paper-money, and their tender-act. He was much inclined to believe, that this diſpoſition would not remain a long time.

Mr. Hamilton is the worthy fellow-labourer of Mr. Maddiſon: his figure announces a man of thirty-eight or forty years; he is not tall; his countenance is decided; his air is open and martial: he was aid-de-camp to General Waſhington, who had great confidence in him; and he well merited it. Since the peace he has taken up the profeſſion of the law, and devoted himſelf principally to public affairs. He has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in congreſs by his eloquence, and the ſolidity of his reaſoning. Among the works which have come from his pen, the moſt diſtinguiſhed are, a number of letters inſerted in the Federaliſt; and the letters of Phocion, in favour of the royaliſts. Mr. Hamilton had fought them with ſucceſs during

during the war. At the eſtabliſhment of peace, he was of opinion, that it was not beſt to drive them to deſpair by a rigorous perſecution. And he had the happineſs to gain over to theſe mild ſentiments, thoſe of his compatriots, whoſe reſentment had been juſtly excited againſt theſe people, for the woes they had brought on their country.

This young orator triumphed again in the convention of the ſtate of New York, where the anti-federal party was numerous. When the convention was formed at Poughkeepſie, three quarters of the members were oppoſed to the new ſyſtem. Mr. Hamilton joining his efforts to thoſe of the celebrated Jay, ſucceeded in convincing the moſt obſtinate, that the refuſal of New York would occaſion the greateſt misfortunes to that ſtate, and to the confederation. The conſtitution was adopted; the feaſt which followed the ratification in New York, was magnificent; the ſhip Federaliſt, which was drawn in proceſſion, was named Hamilton, in honour of this eloquent ſpeaker.

He has married the daughter of General Schuyler, a charming woman, who joins to the graces all the candor and ſimplicity of an American wife. At dinner, at his houſe, I found General Miflin, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his activity in the laſt war. To the vivacity of a Frenchman, he appears to unite every obliging characteriſtic.

Mr. King, whom I ſaw at this dinner, paſſes for the moſt eloquent man of the united ſtates. What ſtruck me moſt in him, was his modeſty. He appears ignorant of his own worth. Mr. Hamilton has the determined air of a republican.

Mr.

Mr. Maddiſon, the meditative air of a profound politician.

At this dinner, as at moſt others which I made in America, they drank the health of M. de la Fayette. The Americans conſider him as one of the heroes of their liberty. He merits their love and eſteem; they have not a better friend in France. His generoſity to them has been manifeſted on all public occaſions, and ſtill more in private circumſtances, where benefits remain unknown. It is not, perhaps, to the honour of France, or the Frenchmen who have been in America, to recount the fact, That he is the only one who has ſuccoured the unhappy ſufferers in the fire at Boſton, and the only one whoſe doors are open to the Americans.

Dr. Thornton, intimately connected with the Americans whom I have mentioned, runs a different career, that of humanity. Though by his appearance he does not belong to the ſociety of Friends, he has their principles, and practiſes their morals with regard to the blacks. He told me the efforts which he has made for the execution of a vaſt project conceived by him for their benefit. Perſuaded that there never can exiſt a ſincere union between the whites and the blacks, even on admitting the latter to the rights of freemen, he propoſes to ſend them back, and eſtabliſh them in Africa. This plan is frightful at the firſt aſpect; but, on examination, it appears to be neceſſary and advantageous. I ſhall not enter upon it here, but reſerve it for my remarks on the ſtate of the blacks in this country. Mr. Thornton, who appears, by his vivacity and his agreeable manners, to belong to the French nation, is born at Antigua: his mother has a plantation there.

It is there that, inſtead of hardening his heart to the fate of the negroes, as moſt of the planters do, he has acquired that humanity, that compaſſion for them, with which he is ſo much impreſſed. He told me he ſhould have ſet his ſlaves at liberty, if it had been in his power; but not being able to do this, he treats them like men.

I cannot finiſh without ſpeaking of another American, whoſe talents in finance are well known here; it is Colonel Duer, ſecretary to the board of treaſury. It is difficult to unite to a great facility in calculation, more extenſive views and a quicker penetration into the moſt complicated projects. To theſe qualities he joins goodneſs of heart; and it is to his obliging character, and his zeal, that I owe much valuable information on the finances of this country.

I ſhould ſtill be wanting in gratitude, ſhould I neglect to mention the politeneſs and attention ſhewed me by the preſident of congreſs, Mr. Griffin. He is a Virginian, of very good abilities, of an agreeable figure, affable, and polite. I ſaw at his houſe, at dinner, ſeven or eight women, all dreſſed in great hats, plumes, &c. It was with pain that I remarked much of pretenſion in ſome of theſe women; one acted the giddy, another, the woman of ſentiment. This laſt had many pruderies and grimaces.

A preſident of congreſs is far from being ſurrounded with the ſplendor of European monarchs. He is not durable in his ſtation; and he never forgets that he is a ſimple citizen, and will ſoon return to the ſtation of one. He does not give pompous dinners; and ſo much the better. He has fewer paraſites, and leſs means of corruption.

I remarked, that his table was freed from many

uſages obſerved elſewhere;—no fatiguing preſentations, no toaſts, ſo deſpairing in a numerous ſociety. Little wine was drank after the women had retired. Theſe traits will give you an idea of the temperance of this country; temperance, the leading virtue of republicans.

I ought to add one word on the finances of this ſtate. The facility of raiſing an impoſt on foreign commerce, puts them in a ſituation to pay, with punctuality, the expences of the government, the intereſt of their ſtate debt, and their part of the civil liſt of congreſs. Their revenues are ſaid to amount to eighty thouſand pounds, money of New-York. The expences of the city and county of New-York amounted, in 1787, to one-eighth of this ſum; that is, to ten thouſand one hundred and ten pounds.

The bank of New-York enjoys a good reputation; it is well adminiſtered. Its caſhier is Mr. William Seton, to whom Mr. de Crevecœur has addreſſed his letters; and what will give a good idea of his integrity, is that he was choſen to this important place notwithſtanding his known attachment to the Engliſh cauſe. This bank receives and pays, without reward, for merchants and others, who chuſe to open an accompt with it.

I left New-York on the 25th of Auguſt, in my way to Philadelphia; and had the north river to paſs before arriving to the ſtage. We paſſed the ferry in an open boat, and landed at Paulus Hook: they reckon two miles for this ferry, for which we pay ſixpence, money of New-York.

The carriage is a kind of open waggon, hung with double curtains of leather and woollen, which you raiſe or let fall at pleaſure: it is not well ſuſpended. But the road was ſo fine, being

ſand and gravel, that we felt no inconvenience from that circumſtance. The horſes are good, and go with rapidity. Theſe carriages have four benches, and may contain twelve perſons. The light baggage is put under the benches, and the trunks fixed on behind. A traveller who does not chuſe to take the ſtage, has a one-horſe carriage by himſelf.

Let the Frenchmen who have travelled in theſe carriages, compare them to thoſe uſed in France; to thoſe heavy diligences, where eight or ten perſons are ſtuffed in together; to thoſe cabriolets in the environs of Paris, where two perſons are cloſely confined, and deprived of air, by a dirty driver, who torments his miſerable jades: and thoſe carriages have to run over the fineſt roads, and yet make but one league an hour. If the Americans had ſuch roads, with what rapidity would they travel? ſince, notwithſtanding the inconvenience of the roads, they now run ninety-ſix miles in a day. Thus, with only a century and a half of exiſtence, and oppoſed by a thouſand obſtacles, they are already ſuperior to people who have been undiſturbed in their progreſs of fifteen centuries.

You find in theſe ſtages, men of all profeſſions. They ſucceed each other with rapidity. One, who goes but twenty miles, yields his place to one who goes farther. The mother and daughter mount the ſtage to go ten miles to dine; another ſtage brings them back. At every inſtant, then, you are making new acquaintances. The frequency of theſe carriages, the facility of finding places in them, and the low and fixed price, invite the Americans to travel. Theſe carriages have another advantage, they keep up the idea of equality. The member of congreſs is placed by

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the ſide of the ſhoemaker who elected him: they faternize together, and converſe with familiarity. You ſee no perſon here taking upon himſelf thoſe important airs, which you too often meet with in France. In that country, a man of condition would bluſh to travel in a diligence: it is an ignoble carriage; one knows not with whom he may find himſelf. Beſides, it is in ſtyle *to run poſt*; this ſtyle ſerves to humiliate thoſe who are condemned to a ſad mediocrity. From this inequality reſult envy, the taſte for luxury, oſtentation, an avidity for gain, the habit of mean and guilty meaſures to acquire wealth. It is then fortunate for America, that the nature of things prevents this diſtinction in the mode of travelling.

The artiſan, or the labourer, who finds himſelf in one of theſe ſtages with a man in place, compoſes himſelf, is ſilent; or if he endeavours to riſe to the level of others, by taking part in the converſation, he at leaſt gains inſtruction. The man in place has leſs haughtineſs, and is facilitated in gaining a knowledge of the people.

The ſon of Governor Livingſton was in the ſtage with me; I ſhould not have found him out, ſo civil and eaſy was his air, had not the tavern keepers from time to time addreſſed him with reſpectful familiarity. I am told that the governor himſelf often uſes thoſe ſtages. You may have an idea of this reſpectable man, who is at once a writer, a governor, and a ploughman, on learning that he takes a pride in calling himſelf a New Jerſey farmer.

The road from New-York to Newark is in part over a marſh: I found it really aſtoniſhing; it recals to mind the indefatigable induſtry of the ancient Dutch ſettlers, mentioned by Mr. de

Crevecœur. Built wholly of wood, with much labour and perſeverance in the midſt of water, on a ſoil that trembles under your feet, it proves to what point may be carried the patience of man, who is determined to conquer nature.

But though much of theſe marſhes are drained, there remains a large extent of them covered with ſtagnant waters, which infect the air, and give birth to thoſe muſquitoes with which you are cruelly tormented, and to an epidemical fever which makes great ravages in ſummer; a fever known likewiſe in Virginia and in the ſouthern ſtates, in parts adjacent to the ſea. I am aſſured that the upper parts of New-Jerſey are exempt from this fever, and from muſquitoes; but this ſtate is ravaged by a political ſcourge, more terrible than either; it is paper money. This paper is ſtill, in New-Jerſey, what the people call a legal tender; that is, you are obliged to receive it at its nominal value, as a legal payment.

I ſaw, in this journey, many inconveniences reſulting from this fictitious money. It gives birth to an infamous kind of traffic, that of buying and ſelling it, by deceiving the ignorant; a commerce which diſcourages induſtry, corrupts the morals, and is a great detriment to the public. This kind of ſtock-jobber is the enemy to his fellow citizens. He makes a ſcience of deceiving; and this ſcience is extremely contagious. It introduces a general diſtruſt. A perſon can neither ſell his land, nor borrow money upon it; for ſellers and lenders may be paid in a medium which may ſtill depreciate, they know not to what degree it may depreciate. A friend dares not truſt his friend. Inſtances of perfidy of this kind have

been

been known, that are horrible. Patriotiſm is conſequently at an end, cultivation languiſhes, and commerce declines*. How is it poſſible, ſaid I to Mr. Livingſton, that a country, ſo rich, can have recourſe to paper-money? New-Jerſey furniſhes productions in abundance to New-York and Philadelphia. She draws money, then, conſtantly from thoſe places; ſhe is their creditor. And ſhall a creditor make uſe of a reſource which can be proper only for a miſerable debtor? How is it that the members of your legiſlature have not made theſe reflections? The reaſon of it is very ſimple, replied he: At the cloſe of the ruinous war, that we have experienced, the greater part of our citizens were burdened with debts. They ſaw, in this paper-money, the means of extricating themſelves; and they had influence enough with their repreſentatives to force them to create it.—But the evil falls at length on the authors of it, ſaid I; they muſt be paid themſelves, as well as pay others, in this ſame paper; and why do they not ſee that it diſhonours their country, that it ruins all kinds of honeſt induſtry, and corrupts the morals of the people? Why do they not repeal this *legal tender?* A ſtrong intereſt oppoſes it, replied he, of ſtock-jobbers and ſpeculators. They wiſh to prolong this miſerable game, in which they are ſure to be the winners, though the ruin of their country ſhould be the conſequence. We expect relief only from the new conſtitution, which takes away from the ſtates the power of making paper-money. All honeſt people wiſh the extinction of it, when ſilver and gold would re-appear; and our national induſtry would ſoon repair the ravages of the war.

* How well have theſe remarks been verified in France

From Newark we went to dine at New-Brunſwick, and to ſleep at Trenton. The road is bad between the two laſt places, eſpecially after a rain; it is a road difficult to be kept in repair. We paſſed by Prince-Town; this part of New-Jerſey is very well cultivated. All the towns are well built, whether in wood, ſtone, or brick. The taverns are much dearer on this road, than in Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut: I paid at Trenton, for a dinner, three ſhillings and ſixpence, money of Pennſylvania.

We paſſed the ferry from Trenton at ſeven in the morning, The Delaware, which ſeparates Pennſylvania from New-Jerſey, is a ſuperb river, navigable for the largeſt ſhips. Its navigation is intercepted by the ice during two months in the year. Veſſels are not attacked here by thoſe worms, which are ſo deſtructive to them in rivers farther ſouth.

The proſpect from the middle of the river is charming: on the right, you ſee mills and manufactories; on the left, two charming little towns, which overlook the water. The borders of this river are ſtill in their wild ſtate. In the foreſts, which cover them, are ſome enormous trees. There are likewiſe ſome houſes; but they are not equal, in point of ſimple elegance, to thoſe of Maſſachuſetts.

We breakfaſted at Briſtol, a town oppoſite to Burlington. It was here that the famous Penn firſt planted his tabernacles. But it was repreſented to him, that the river here did not furniſh anchoring ground ſo good and ſo ſafe as the place already inhabited by the Swedes, where Philadelphia has ſince been built. He reſolved, then, to

purchaſe

purchaſe this place of them, give them other lands in exchange, and to leave Briſtol.

Paſſing the river Shammony, on a new bridge, and then the village of Frankford, we arrived at Philadelphia, by a fine road bordered with the beſt cultivated fields, and elegant houſes, which announce the neighbourhood of a great town.

I had paſſed but few hours at Philadelphia, when a particular buſineſs called me to Burlington, on the borders of the Delaware. It is an elegant little town, more ancient than Philadelphia. Many of the inhabitants are Friends, or Quakers: this was formerly their place of general rendezvous.

From thence I went to the country-houſe of Mr. Temple Franklin. He is the grandſon of the celebrated Franklin; and as well known in France for his amiable qualities, as for his general information. His houſe is five miles from Burlington, on a ſandy ſoil, covered with a foreſt of pines. His houſe is ſimple, his garden is well kept, he has a good library, and his ſituation ſeems deſtined for the retreat of a philoſopher.

I dined here with five or ſix Frenchmen, who began their converſation with invectives againſt America and the Americans, againſt their want of laws, their paper-money, and their ill faith. I defended the Americans, or rather I deſired to be inſtructed by facts; for I was determined no more to believe in the opinions of individuals.

You wiſh for facts, ſaid one of them, who had lived in this country for three years: I will give you ſome.—I ſay that the country is a miſerable one. In New-Jerſey where we now are, there is nothing but paper. The money is locked up, ſaid Mr. Franklin. Would you have a man be

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fool enough to exchange it for depreciated rags? Wait till the law ſhall take the paper from circulation.—But you cannot borrow money on the beſt ſecurity. I believe it, ſaid Mr. Franklin; the lender fears to be paid in paper.—Theſe facts prove not the ſcarcity of money, but the prudence of thoſe who hold it, and the influence that debtors have in the legiſlature.

They paſſed to another point. Your laws are arbitrary, and often unjuſt: for inſtance, there is a law laying a tax of a dollar on the ſecond dog; and this tax augments in proportion to the number that a man keeps. Thus a labourer has need of dogs; but he is deprived of their ſuccour. He has no need of them, ſaid Mr. Franklin, he keeps them but for his pleaſure; and if any thing ought to be taxed, it is pleaſure. The dogs are injurious to the ſheep; inſtead of defending them, they often kill them. I was one of the firſt to ſolicit this law, becauſe we are infeſted with dogs from this quarter. To get rid of them, we have put a tax on them, and it has produced ſalutary effects. The money ariſing from this tax, is deſtined to indemnify thoſe whoſe ſheep are deſtroyed by theſe animals.

My Frenchman returned to the charge:—But your taxes are extremely heavy. You ſhall judge of that, ſays Mr. Franklin: I have an eſtate here of five or ſix hundred acres; my taxes laſt year amounted to eight pounds, in paper money; this reduced to hard money, is ſix pounds.

Nothing can be more concluſive than thoſe replies. I am ſure, however, that this Frenchman has forgot them all; and that he will go and declare in France, that the taxes in New-Jerſey are

diſtreſſingly heavy, and that the impoſition on dogs is abominable.

Burlington is ſeparated from Briſtol only by the river. Here is ſome commerce, and ſome men of conſiderable capital. The children here have that air of health and decency, wliich characterizes the ſect of the Quakers.

On returning from Burlington, I went with Mr. Shoemaker to the houſe of his father-in-law, Mr. Richardſon, a farmer, who lives near Middleton, twenty-two miles from Philadelphia.

Mr. Shoemaker is thirty years of age; he was not educated in the ſect of Friends: he declared to me that, in his youth, he was far from their principles; that he had lived in pleaſure; that growing weary of them, he reflected on his conduct, and reſolved to change it; that he ſtudied the principles of the Quakers, and ſoon became a member of their ſociety, notwithſtanding the railleries of his friends. He had married the daughter of this Quaker, to whoſe houſe we were going. I wiſhed to ſee a true American farmer.

I was really charmed with the order and neatneſs of this houſe, and of its inhabitants. They have three ſons and ſeven daughters. One of the latter only is married; three others are marriageable. They are beautiful, eaſy in their manners, and decent in their deportment. Their dreſs is ſimple; they wear fine cotton on Sunday, and that which is not ſo fine on other days. Theſe daughters aid their mother in the management of the family. The mother has much activity; ſhe held in her arms a little grand-daughter, which was careſſed by all the children. It is truly a patriarchal family. The father is occupied conſtantly in the fields. We

converſed

converſed much on the ſociety of Friends, the ſociety in France for the abolition of ſlavery, the growing of wheat, and other ſubjects.

I never was ſo much edified as in this houſe; it is the aſylum of union, friendſhip, and hoſpitality. The beds were neat, the linen white, the covering elegant; the cabinets, deſks, chairs, and tables, were of black walnut, well poliſhed, and ſhining. The garden furniſhed vegetables of all kinds, and fruits. There were ten horſes in the ſtable; the Indian corn of the laſt year, ſtill on the cob, lay in large quantities in a cabin, of which the narrow planks, placed at ſmall diſtances from each other, leave openings for the circulation of the air.

The barn was full of wheat, oats, and other grain; their cows furniſh delicious milk for the family, of which they make excellent cheeſes; their ſheep give them the wool of which the cloth is made, which covers the father and the children. This cloth is ſpun in the houſe, wove and fulled in the neighbourhood. All the linen is likewiſe made in the houſe.

Mr. Shoemaker ſhewed me the place where this worthy cultivator was going to build a houſe for his eldeſt ſon. You ſee, ſays he to me, the wealth of this good farmer. His father was a poor Scotchman; he came to America, and applied himſelf to agriculture, and by his induſtry and economy amaſſed a large fortune. This ſon of his is likewiſe rich: he ſells his grain to a miller in the neighbourhood; his vegetables, butter, and cheeſe, are ſent once a week to town.

I went to ſee this miller. I recollected what Mr. de Crevecœur had ſaid in praiſe of the American mills. This one merited it for its neatneſs,

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and for the intelligence with which the different operations were diſtributed. There were three ſets of ſtones deſtined to the making of flour of different degrees of fineneſs. They employ only the ſtones of France for the firſt quality of flour. They are exported from Bourdeaux and Rouen. In theſe mills they have multiplied the machinery, to ſpare hand labour in all the operations; ſuch as, hoiſting the wheat, cleanſing it, raiſing the flour to the place where it is to be ſpread, collecting it again into the chamber, where it is to be put in barrels.

Theſe barrels are marked at the mill with the name of the miller; and this mark indicates the quality of the flour. That which is deſigned for exportation, is again inſpected at the port; and, if not merchantable, it is condemned.

The millers here are flour-merchants; mills are a kind of property which enſures a conſtant income.

Being taken ill, Warner Miflin came to ſee me. It was this man who firſt freed all his ſlaves; it is he who, without a paſſport, traverſed the Britiſh army, and ſpoke to General Howe with ſo much firmneſs and dignity; it is he who, fearing not the effects of the general hatred againſt the Quakers, went, at the riſk of being treated as a ſpy, to preſent himſelf to General Waſhington, to juſtify to him the conduct of the Quakers; it is he, that in the midſt of the furies of war, equally a friend to the French, the Engliſh, and the Americans, carried generous ſuccours to thoſe among them who were ſuffering. Well, this angel of peace came to ſee me. I am Warner Miflin, ſays he; I have read the book wherein thou defendeſt the cauſe of the Friends,

wherein

wherein thou preacheſt the principles of univerſal benevolence; I knew that thou waſt here, and I have come to ſee thee; beſides, I love thy nation. I was, I confeſs, much prejudiced againſt the French; I even hated them, having been, in this reſpect, educated in the Engliſh principles. But when I came to ſee them, a ſecret voice ſaid to me, that I ought to drive from my heart that prejudice; that I ought to know them, and love them. I have, then, fought for them. I have known them; and it is with pleaſure I have found them poſſeſs a ſpirit of mildneſs and general benevolence.

The converſation of this worthy Quaker, made a deep impreſſion on my heart. What humanity! and what charity! It ſeems, that to love mankind, and to ſearch to do them good, conſtitutes his only pleaſure, his only exiſtence; his conſtant occupation is to find the means of making all men but one family; and he does not deſpair of it. He ſpoke to me of the ſociety of Quakers at Niſmes, and of ſome friends in America and England, who have been to viſit them. He regarded them as inſtruments deſtined to propagate the principles of the ſociety through the world. I mentioned to him ſome obſtacles; ſuch as the corruption of our morals, and the power of the clergy. Oh! my friend, ſaid he, is not the arm of the Almighty ſtronger than the arm of man? What were we, when the ſociety took its birth in England? What was America thirteen years ago, when Benezet raiſed his voice againſt the ſlavery of the blacks? Let us always endeavour to do good; fear no obſtacles, and the good will be done.

All this was ſaid without the leaſt oſtentation.

He ſaid what he felt, what he had thought a thouſand times; he ſpoke from the heart and not from the head. He realized what he had told me of that ſecret voice, that internal ſpirit, of which the Quakers ſpeak ſo much; he was animated by it. Ah! who can ſee, who can hear a man, ſo much exalted above human nature, without reflecting on himſelf, without endeavouring to imitate him, without bluſhing at his own weakneſs? What are the fineſt writings, in compariſon with a life ſo pure, a conduct ſo conſtantly devoted to the good of humanity! How ſmall I appeared in contemplating him! And ſhall we calumniate a ſect to which a man ſo venerable belongs? Shall we paint it as the centre of hypocriſy and deceit? We muſt then ſuppoſe that Miflin counterfeits humanity; that he is in concert with hypocrites, or that he is blind to their true character. To counterfeit humanity, to conſent to ſacrifice one's intereſts, to be ſcoffed and ridiculed, to impart his goods to the poor, to affranchiſe his negroes, and all this by hypocriſy, would be a very bad ſpeculation; hypocriſy makes better calculations.

He took me one day to ſee his intended wife, Miſs Ameland, whom he was to marry in a few days. She is a worthy companion of this reputable Quaker. What mildneſs! what modeſty! and, at the ſame time, what entertainment in her converſation! Miſs Ameland once loved the world. She made verſes and muſic and was fond of dancing. Though young ſtill, ſhe has renounced all theſe amuſements, to embrace the life of an anchorite. In the midſt, of the world, ſhe has perſiſted in her deſign, notwithſtanding the pleaſantries of her acquaintance.

I was preſent at the funeral of Thomas Holwell, one of the elders of the ſociety of Friends. I found a number of Friends aſſembled about the houſe of the deceaſed, and waiting in ſilence for the body to appear. It appeared, and was in a coffin of black walnut, without any covering or ornament, borne by four friends; ſome women followed, who, I was told, were the neareſt relatives, and grand-children of the deceaſed, but none of them in black. All his friends followed in ſilence, two by two. I was of the number. There were no places deſignated; young and old mingled together; but all bore the ſame air of gravity and attention. The burying ground is in the town; but it is not ſurrounded with houſes. I ſaw, near ſome of the graves, ſome pieces of black ſtones, on which the names only of the dead were engraved The greateſt part of the Quakers diſlike even this; they ſay, that a man ought to live in the memory of his friends, not by vain inſcriptions, but by good actions. The grave was ſix or ſeven feet deep; they placed the body by the ſide of it. On the oppoſite ſide were ſeated, on wooden chairs, the four women who appeared to be the moſt affected. The people gathered round, and remained for five minutes in profound meditation. All their countenances marked a gravity ſuitable to the occaſion, but nothing of grief. This interval being elapſed, they let down the body, and covered it with earth; when a man advanced near the grave, planted his cane in the ground, fixed his hat upon it, and began a diſcourſe relative to this ſad ceremony. He trembled in all his body, and his eyes were ſtaring and wild. His diſcourſe turned upon the tribulations of this life, the neceſſity

of

of recurring to God, &c. When he had finiſhed, a woman threw herſelf on her knees, made a very ſhort prayer, the men took off their hats, and all retired.

I went from thence with theſe Friends to their meeting. The moſt profound ſilence reigned for near an hour; when one of their miniſters, or elders, who ſat on the front bench, roſe, pronounced four words—then was ſilent for a minute, then ſpoke four words more; and his whole diſcourſe was pronounced in this manner. This method is generally followed by their preachers; for another, who ſpoke after him, obſerved the ſame intervals.

Whether I judged from habit or reaſon, I know not; but this manner of ſpeaking appeared to me not calculated to produce a great effect; for the ſenſe of the phraſe is perpetually interrupted; and the hearer is obliged to gueſs at the meaning, or be in ſuſpenſe; either of which is fatiguing.

Certainly the manner of the ancient orators, and modern preachers, is better imagined for producing the great effect of eloquence. They ſpeak by turns, to the imagination, to the paſſions, and to the reaſon; they pleaſe in order to move; they pleaſe in order to convince; and it is by pleaſure that they draw you after them. The Quakers, however, are of a different character; they early habituate themſelves to meditation; they are men of much reflection, and of few words. They have no need, then, of preachers with ſounding phraſes and long ſermons. They diſdain elegance as an uſeleſs amuſement; and long ſermons appear diſproportioned to the force of the human mind. The mind ſhould not be loaded with

too many truths at once, if you wish they should make a lasting impression. The object of preaching being to convert, it ought rather to lead to reflection than to dazzle and amuse.

I observed, in the countenances of all this congregation, an air of gravity mixed with sadness. Perhaps I am prejudiced; but I should like better, while people are adoring their God, to see them have an air which would dispose persons to love each other, and to be fond of the worship. Such an air would be attracting to young people, whom too much severity disgusts. Besides, why should a person with a good conscience, pray to God with a sad countenance.

The prayer, which terminated this meeting, was fervent; it was pronounced by a minister, who fell on his knees. The men took off their hats; and each retired, after having shaken hands with his neighbour.

In considering the simplicity of the Quakers' worship, and the air of sadness that in the eyes of strangers appears to accompany it, I have been surprised that the society should maintain a concurrence with more brilliant sects, and even increase by making proselytes from them. This effect is principally to be attributed to the singular image of domestic happiness which the Quakers enjoy. Renouncing all external pleasures, music, theatres, and shows, they are devoted to their duties as citizens, to their families and to their business; thus they are beloved by their wives, cherished by their children, and esteemed by their neighbours. Such is the spectacle which has often drawn to this society, men who have ridiculed it in their youth*.

* We are not of opinion that Quakerism is gaining much ground in the world.

I made

I made a viſit to a houſe of correction, or a Bettering Houſe, as it is called. This edifice is ſituated in the open country, in one of thoſe parts of the original plan of Philadelphia not yet covered with houſes. It is conſtructed of bricks, and compoſed of two large buildings; one for men, and the other for women. There is a ſeparation in the court, which is common to them. This inſtitution has ſeveral objects: they receive into it, the poor, the ſick, orphans, women in travail, and perſons attacked with venereal diſeaſes. They likewiſe confine here, vagabonds, diſorderly perſons, and girls of ſcandalous lives, though the number of theſe laſt is ſmall; ſuch is the general purity of manners.

There are particular halls appropriated to each claſs of poor, and to each ſpecies of ſickneſs; and each hall has its ſuperintendent. This inſtitution was rich, and well adminiſtered before the war. The greater part of the adminiſtrators were Quakers. The war and paper-money introduced a different order of things. The legiſlature reſolved not to admit to its adminiſtration, any perſons but ſuch as had taken the oath of fidelity to the ſtate. The Quakers were by this excluded, and the management of it fell into hands not ſo pure. The ſpirit of depredation was manifeſt in it, and paper-money was ſtill more injurious. Creditors of the hoſpital were paid, or rather ruined by this operation. About a year ago, on the report of the inſpectors of the hoſpitals, the legiſlature, conſidering the abuſes practiſed in that adminiſtration, confided that of the bettering-houſe again to the Quakers. Without any reſentment of the affronts they had received during the war, and only anxious to do

good and perform their duty, the Friends accepted the adminiſtration, and exerciſe it, as before, with zeal and fidelity. This change has produced the effect which was expected. Order is viſibly re-eſtabliſhed; many adminiſtrators are appointed, one of whom, by turns, is to viſit the hoſpital every day: ſix phyſicians are attached to it, who perform the ſervice gratis.

I have ſeen the hoſpitals of France, both at Paris, and in the provinces. I know none of them but the one at Beſançon, that can be compared to this at Philadelphia. Every ſick, and every poor perſon, has his bed well furniſhed, but without curtains, as it ſhould be. Every room is lighted by windows placed oppoſite, which introduce plenty of light, that great conſolation to a man confined, of which tyrants, for this reaſon, are cruelly ſparing. Theſe windows admit a free circulation of air: moſt of them open over the fields; and as they are not very high, and are without grates, it would be very eaſy for the priſoners to make their eſcape; but the idea never enters their heads. This fact proves that the priſoners are happy, and, conſequently, that the adminiſtration is good.

The kitchens are well kept, and do not exhale that fetid odour which you perceive from the beſt kitchens in France. The eating-rooms, which are on the ground floor, are equally clean and well aired: neatneſs and good air reign in every part. A large garden at the end of the court, furniſhes vegetables for the kitchen. I was ſurpriſed to find there, a great number of foreign ſhrubs and plants. The garden is well cultivated. In the yard they rear a great number of hogs; for, in America, the hog, as well as the

ox,

ox, does the honours of the table through the whole year.

I can ſcarcely deſcribe to you the different ſenſations which, by turns, rejoiced and afflicted my heart, in going through their different apartments. An hoſpital, how well ſoever adminiſtered, is always a painful ſpectacle to me. It appears to me ſo conſoling, for a ſick man to be at his own home, attended by his wife and children, and viſited by his neighbours, that I regard hoſpitals as vaſt ſepulchres, where are brought together a crowd of individuals, ſtrangers to each other, and ſeparated from all they hold dear. And what is man in this ſituation?—A leaf detached from the tree, and driven down by the torrent—a ſkeleton no longer of any conſiſtence, and bordering on diſſolution.

But this idea ſoon gives place to another. Since ſocieties are condemned to be infeſted with great cities, ſince miſery and vice are the neceſſary offspring of theſe cities, a houſe like this becomes the aſylum of beneficence; for, without the aid of ſuch inſtitutions, what would become of the greater part of thoſe wretches who here find a refuge? No door but that of their common mother earth would receive them, were it not for this proviſion made by their common friend, ſociety.

There were few children in the hall of the little orphans; theſe were in good health, and appeared gay and happy. Mr. Shoemaker, who conducted me thither, and another of the directors, diſtributed ſome cakes among them, which they had brought in their pockets. Thus the directors think of their charge even at a diſtance, and occupy themſelves with their happineſs.

Good

Good God! there is, then, a country where the ſoul of the governor of an hoſpital, is not a ſoul of braſs!

Blacks are here mingled with the whites, and lodged in the ſame apartments. This, to me, was an edifying ſight; it ſeemed a balm to my ſoul. I ſaw a negro woman ſpinning with activity by the ſide of her bed. Her eyes ſeemed to expect, from the director, a word of conſolation—She obtained it; and it ſeemed to be heaven to her to hear him. I ſhould have been more happy, had it been for me to have ſpoken this word; I ſhould have added many more. Unhappy negroes! how much reparation do we owe them for the evils we havé occaſioned them—the evils we ſtill occaſion them! and they love us!

The happineſs of this negreſs was not equal to that which I ſaw ſparkle on the viſage of a young blind girl, who ſeemed to leap for joy at the ſound of the director's voice. He aſked after her health: ſhe anſwered with tranſport. She was taking her tea by the ſide of her little table; for they allow this luxury to thoſe whoſe conduct is ſatisfactory: and thoſe who, by their work, are able to make ſome ſavings, enjoy the fruits of their induſtry. I remarked in this hoſpital, that the women were much more numerous than the men; and among the latter, I ſaw none of thoſe hideous figures ſo common in the hoſpitals of Paris—figures on which you trace the marks of crimes, miſery and indolence. They have a decent appearance; many of them aſked the director for their enlargement, which they obtained.

But what reſources have they, on leaving this houſe? They have their hands, anſwered the director, and they may find uſeful occupations.

But

But the women, replied I, what can they do? Their condition is not ſo fortunate, ſaid he. In a town where ſo many men are occupied in foreign commerce, the number of unhappy and diſorderly females will be augmented. To prevent this inconvenience, it has been lately propoſed to form a new eſtabliſhment, which ſhall give to girls of this deſcription a uſeful occupation, where the produce of the induſtry of each perſon ſhall be preſerved and given to her on leaving the houſe; or, if ſhe ſhould chuſe to remain, ſhe ſhall always enjoy the fruit of her own labour.

On our return from the hoſpital, we drank a bottle of cider. Compare this frugal repaſt to the ſumptuous feaſts given by the ſuperintendents of the poor of ſome capitals—by thoſe humane inſpectors who aſſemble to conſult on making repairs to the amount of ſix ſhillings, and order a dinner for ſix guineas. You never find among the Quakers, theſe robberies upon indigence, theſe infamous treaſons againſt beneficence. Bleſs them, then, ye rich and poor: ye rich, becauſe their fidelity and prudence œconomiſe your money; ye poor, becauſe their humanity watches over you without ceaſing.

The expences of this hoſpital amount to about five pence a day, money of Pennſylvania, for each penſioner. The beſt adminiſtered hoſpital in Paris amounts to about fourteen pence, like money, a day; and, what a difference in the treatment!

I next viſited the hoſpital for lunatics. The building is fine, elegant, and well kept. I was charmed with the cleanlineſs in the halls of the ſick, as well as in the particular chambers. I obſerved the buſt of Franklin in the library, and

was

was told that this honour was rendered him as one of the principal founders of this inſtitution. The library is not numerous; but it is well choſen. The hall on the firſt floor, is appropriated to ſick men: there were ſix in it. About the ſame number of ſick women were in a like hall on the ſecond floor. Theſe perſons appeared by no means miſerable; they ſeemed to be at home. I went below to ſee the lunatics; they were about fifteen, male and female. Each one has his cell, with a bed, a table, and a convenient window with grates. Stoves are fixed in the walls, to warm the cell in winter.

There were no mad perſons among them. Moſt of the patients are the victims of religious melancholy, or of diſappointed love. Theſe unhappy perſons are treated with the greateſt tenderneſs; they are allowed to walk in the court; are conſtantly viſited by two phyſicians. Dr. Ruſh has invented a kind of ſwing chair for their exerciſe.

What a difference between this treatment and the atrocious regulations to which we condemn ſuch wretches in France! where they are rigorouſly confined, and their diſorders ſcarcely ever fail to increaſe upon them. The Turks, on the contrary, manifeſt a ſingular reſpect to perſons inſane: they are eager to adminiſter food to them, to load them with careſſes. Fools in that country are never known to be injurious; whereas, with us, they are dangerous, becauſe they are unhappy.

The view of theſe perſons affected me more than that of the ſick. The laſt of human miſeries, in my opinion, is confinement; and I cannot conceive how a ſick perſon can be cured in priſon, for confinement itſelf is a continual malady.

dy. The exercise of walking abroad, the view of the fields, the murmur of the rivulets, and the singing of birds, with the aid of vegetable diet, appear to me the best means of curing insanity. It is true, that this method requires too many attendants; and the impossibility of following it for the hospital of Philadelphia, makes it necessary to recur to locks and bars. But why do they place these cells beneath the ground-floor, exposed to the unwholesome humidity of the earth? The enlightened and humane Dr. Rush told me, that he had endeavoured for a long time, in vain, to introduce a change in this particular; and that this hospital was founded at a time when little attention was thought necessary for the accommodation of fools. I observed, that none of these fools were naked, or indecent; a thing very common with us. These people preserve, even in their folly, their primitive characteristic of decency.

I could not leave this place without being tormented with one bitter reflection.—A man of the most brilliant genius may here finish his days. If Swift had not been rich, he had dragged out his last moments in such an hospital. O ye, who watch over them, be gentle in your administration!—perhaps a benefactor of the human race has fallen under your care.

Dr. Franklin had been suffering a severe illness, which threatened his dissolution, but was sufficiently recovered to receive company. I went to see him, and enjoy his conversation, in the midst of his books, which he still calls his best friends. The pains of his cruel infirmity change not the serenity of his countenance, nor the calmness of his conversation. If these appeared so agreeable to

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our Frenchmen, who enjoyed his friendſhip in Paris, how would they ſeem to them here, where no diplomatic functions impoſe upon him that maſk of reſerve which was ſometimes ſo chilling to his gueſts. Franklin, ſurrounded by his family, appears to be one of thoſe patriarchs whom he has ſo well deſcribed, and whoſe language he has copied with ſuch ſimple elegance. He ſeems one of thoſe ancient philoſophers, who at times deſcended from the ſphere of his elevated genius, to inſtruct weak mortals, by accommodating himſelf to their feebleneſs. I have found in America, a great number of enlightened politicians and virtuous men; but I find none who appear to poſſeſs, in ſo high a degree as Franklin, the characteriſtics of a real philoſopher. A love for the human race in habitual exerciſe, an indefatigable zeal to ſerve them, extenſive information, ſimplicity of manners, and purity of morals; all theſe furniſh not marks of diſtinction ſufficiently obſervable between him and other patriot politicians, unleſs we add another characteriſtic; it is, that Franklin, in the midſt of the vaſt ſcene in which he acted ſo diſtinguiſhed a part, had his eyes fixed without ceaſing on a more extenſive theatre—on heaven and a future life; the only point of view which can ſuſtain, diſintereſt, and can aggrandize man upon earth, and make him a true philoſopher. All his life has been but a continued ſtudy and practice of philoſophy.

I wiſh to give a ſketch of it from ſome traits which I have been able to collect, as his hiſtory has been much disfigured. This ſketch may ſerve to rectify ſome of thoſe falſe anecdotes which circulate in Europe.

Franklin

Franklin was born at Boſton, in 1706, the fifteenth child of a man who was a dyer and a ſoap-boiler. He wiſhed to bring up this ſon to his own trade; but the lad took an invincible diſlike to it, preferring even the life of a ſailor. The father, diſliking this choice, placed him apprentice with an elder ſon, who was a printer, and publiſhed a newſpaper.

Three traits of character, diſplayed at that early period, might have given an idea of the extraordinary genius which he was afterwards to diſcover.

The puritanic auſterity which at that time predominated in Maſſachuſetts, impreſſed the mind of young Benjamin in a manner more oblique than it had done that of his father. The old man was in the practice of making long prayers and benedictions before all his meals. One day, at the beginning of winter, when he was ſalting his meat, and laying in his proviſions for the ſeaſon, "Father," ſays the boy, "it would be a great ſaving of time, if you would ſay grace over all theſe barrels of meat at once, and let that ſuffice for the winter."

Soon after he went to live with his brother, he began to addreſs pieces to him for his paper, in a diſguiſed hand writing. Theſe eſſays were univerſally admired; his brother became jealous of him, and endeavoured, by ſevere treatment, to cramp his genius. This obliged him ſoon to quit his ſervice, and go to ſeek his fortune at New-York.

Benjamin had read a treatiſe of Dr. Tryon on the Pythagorean regimen; and, fully convinced by its reaſoning, he abſtained from the uſe of meat for a long time; and became irreconcileable to it, until a cod fiſh, which he caught in the open ſea, and found its ſtomach full of little fiſh, overturned his whole ſyſtem. He concluded,

that ſince the fiſhes eat each other, men might very well feed upon other animals. This Pythagorean diet was economical to the printer's boy: it ſaved him ſome money to lay out for books; and reading was the firſt and conſtant paſſion of his life.

Having left his father's houſe without recommendation, and almoſt without money, depending only upon himſelf, but always confident in his own judgment, and rejoicing in his independence, he became the ſport of accidents, which ſerved rather to prove him, than to diſcourage him. Wandering in the ſtreets of Philadelphia, with only five ſhillings in his pocket, not known to a perſon in the town, eating a cruſt of bread, and quenching his thirſt in the waters of the Delaware; who could have diſcerned in this wretched labourer, one of the future legiſlators of America, one of the fathers of modern philoſophy, and an ambaſſador covered with glory in the moſt wealthy, the moſt powerful, and the moſt enlightened country in the world? Who would have believed that France, that Europe, would one day erect ſtatues to that man, who had not where to lay his head?

Arriving at Philadelphia did not finiſh the misfortunes of Benjamin Franklin. He was there deceived and diſappointed by Governor Keith, who, by fine promiſes for his future eſtabliſhment, which he never realized, induced him to embark for London, where he arrived without money and without recommendations. Happily he knew how to procure ſubſiſtence. His talent for the preſs, in which no perſon excelled him, ſoon gave him occupation. His frugality, the regularity of his conduct, and the good ſenſe of his converſation, procured him the eſteem of his comrades: his

his reputation in this respect, existed for many years afterwards in the printing-offices in London.

An employment promised him by a Mr. Derham, recalled him to his country in 1726, when fortune put him to another proof. His protector died; and Franklin was obliged, for subsistence, to have recourse again to the press. He found the means soon afterwards to establish a printing-press himself, and to publish a gazette. At this period began his good success, which never afterwards abandoned him. He married a Miss Read, to whom he was attached by a long friendship, and who merited all his esteem. She partook of his enlarged and beneficent ideas, and was the model of a virtuous wife and a good neighbour.

Having arrived at this degree of independence, Franklin had leisure to pursue his speculations for the good of the public. His gazette furnished him with the regular and constant means of instructing his fellow-citizens. He made this gazette the principal object of his attention; so that it acquired a vast reputation, was read through the whole country, and may be considered as having contributed much to perpetuate in Pennsylvania those excellent morals which still distinguish that state.

But a work which contributed still more to diffuse in America the practice of frugality, economy, and good morals, was *Poor Richard's Almanack*. It had a great reputation in Europe, but still more in America. Franklin continued it for twenty-five years, and sold annually more than ten thousand copies. In this work, the most weighty truths are delivered in the simplest language, and suited to the comprehension of all the world.

In 1736, Franklin began his public career. He was appointed Secretary of the General As-

ſembly of Pennſylvania, and continued in that employment for many years.

In 1737, the Engliſh government confided to him the adminiſtration of the general poſt-office in America. He made it at once lucrative to the revenue, and uſeful to the inhabitants. It ſerved him particularly, to extend every where his uſeful gazettes.

Since that epoch, not a year has paſſed without his propoſing, and carrying into execution, ſome project uſeful to the colonies.

To him are owing the companies of aſſurance againſt fire; companies ſo neceſſary in countries where houſes are built with wood, and where fires completely ruin individuals; while, on the contrary, they are diſaſtrous in a country where fires are not frequent, and not dangerous.

To him is owing the eſtabliſhment of the Philoſophical Society at Philadelphia, its library, its univerſity, its hoſpitals, &c.

The attention which he paid to theſe inſtitutions of literature and humanity, did not divert him from his public functions, nor from his experiments in natural philoſophy.

His labours on theſe ſubjects are well known; I ſhall therefore not ſpeak of them, but confine myſelf to a fact which has been little remarked: it is, that Franklin always directed his labours to that kind of public utility which, without procuring any great eclat to its author, produces great advantage to the citizens at large. It is to this popular taſte, which characterized him, that we owe the invention of his electrical conductors, his economical ſtoves, his diſſertations, truly philoſophical, on the means of preventing chimneys from ſmoking, on the advantages of copper roofs

to

to houſes, the eſtabliſhment of ſo many paper-mills in Pennſylvania, &c.

The circumſtances of his political career are likewiſe known to the world; I therefore paſs them over in ſilence. But I ought not to omit to mention his conduct during the war of 1755. At that period he enjoyed a great reputation in the Engliſh colonies. In 1754 he was appointed one of the members of the famous congreſs, which was held at Albany; the object of which was to take the neceſſary meaſures to prevent the invaſion of the French. He preſented to that congreſs an excellent *plan of union and defence*, which was adopted by that body; but it was rejected in London by the department for the colonies, under the pretext that it was too democratical. It is probable, had this plan been purſued, the colonies would not have been ravaged by the dreadful war which followed.

On his final return to his country, after many important negotiations, which terminated in its independence, he obtained all the honours which his ſignal ſervices merited. His great age, and his infirmities, have compelled him at laſt to renounce his public career, which he has run with ſo much glory. He lives retired, with his family, in a houſe which he has built on the ſpot where he firſt landed, ſixty years before, and where he found himſelf wandering without a home, and without acquaintance. In this houſe he has eſtabliſhed a printing-preſs and a type-foundery. from a printer he had become ambaſſador; from this he has now returned to his beloved preſs, and is forming to this precious art his grandſon, Mr. Bache. He has placed him at the head of an enterpriſe which will be infinitely uſeful; it is a

complete edition of all the claſſic authors, that is, of all thoſe moral writers whoſe works ought to be the manual for men who wiſh to gain inſtruction, and make themſelves happy by doing good to others.

It is in the midſt of theſe holy occupations, that this great man waits for death with tranquillity*. You will judge of his philoſophy, on this point, which is the touchſtone of philoſophy, by the following letter, written thirty years ago on the death of his brother John Franklin, addreſſed to Mrs. Hubbard, his daughter-in-law.

" My dear child,

" I am grieved with you; we have loſt a friend, who, to us, was very dear, and very precious. But it is the will of God and of nature, that theſe mortal bodies ſhould be laid aſide, when the ſoul is ready to enter into real life; for this life is but an embryo ſtate, a preparation for life. A man is not completely born, until he is dead. Shall we complain, then, that a new-born has taken his place among the immortals? We are ſpirits. It is a proof of the goodneſs of God, that our bodies are lent us ſo long as they can be uſeful to us, in receiving pleaſure, in acquiring knowledge, or in doing good to our fellow-creatures; and he gives a new proof of the ſame goodneſs in delivering us from our bodies, when, inſtead of pleaſure, they cauſe us pain; when, inſtead of aiding others, we become chargeable to them. Death is then a bleſſing from God; we ourſelves often prefer a partial death to a continued pain; it is thus that we conſent to the amputation of a limb, when it cannot be reſtored to life, On quitting our bodies,

* Dr. Franklin died in 1790.

we

we are delivered from all kinds of pain. Our friend and we are invited to a party of pleaſure which will endure eternally: he has gone firſt; why ſhould we regret it, ſince we are ſo ſoon to follow, and we know where we are to meet?"

Briſſot, after giving the ſpeech of Mirabeau in the national aſſembly of France, in which he propoſed that they ſhould go into mourning for Benjamin Franklin for three days, which was immediately carried by acclamation, thus ſums up the character of that philoſopher: Ye who ſincerely indulge the wiſh to place yourſelves by the ſide of Franklin, examine his life, and have the courage to imitate him. Franklin had genius: but he had virtues; he was good, ſimple, and modeſt; he had not that proud aſperity in diſpute, which repulſes with diſdain the ideas of others; he liſtened—he had the art of liſtening—he anſwered to the ideas of others, and not to his own.

I have ſeen him attending patiently to young people, who, full of frivolity and pride, were eager to make a parade before him, of ſome ſuperficial knowledge of their own. He knew how to eſtimate them; but he would not humiliate them, even by a parade of goodneſs. Placing himſelf at once on a level with them, he would anſwer without having the air of inſtructing them. He knew that inſtruction in its pompous apparel, was forbidding. Franklin had knowledge, but it was for the people; he was always grieved at their ignorance, and made it his conſtant duty to enlighten them. He ſtudied for ever to leſſen the price of books, in order to multiply them. In a word, genius, ſimplicity, goodneſs, tolerance, indefatigable labour, and love for the people—theſe form the character of Franklin; and theſe you muſt unite, if you wiſh for a name like his.

I break-

I breakfaſted at Philadelphia one morning with Samuel Ameland, one of the richeſt and moſt beneficent of the ſociety of Friends. He is a pupil of Anthony Benezet; he ſpeaks of him with enthuſiaſm, and treads in his ſteps. He takes an active part in every uſeful inſtitution, and rejoices in the occaſion of doing good; he loves the French nation, and ſpeaks their language. He treats me with the greateſt friendſhip; offers me his houſe, his horſes, and his carriage. On leaving him, I went to ſee an experiment, near the Delaware, on a boat, the object of which is to aſcend rivers againſt the current. The inventor was Mr. Fitch, who had found a company to ſupport the expence. One of the moſt zealous aſſociates is Mr. Thornton, of whom I have ſpoken. This invention was diſputed between Mr. Fitch and M. Rumſey, of Virginia*. However it be, the machine which I ſaw, appears well executed, and well adapted to the deſign. The ſteem-engine gives motion to three large oars of conſiderable force, which were to give ſixty ſtrokes per minute.

* Since writing this letter, I have ſeen Mr. Rumſey in England. He is a man of great ingenuity; and, by the explanation which he has given me, it appears that his diſcovery, though founded on a ſimilar principle with that of Mr. Fitch, is very different from it, and far more ſimple in its execution. Mr. Rumſey propoſed then (February 1789) to build a veſſel which ſhould go to America by the help only of the ſteam-engine, and without ſails It was to make the paſſage in fifteen days. I perceive with pain that he has not yet executed his project; which, when executed, will introduce into commerce as great a change as the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope. AUTHOR.

Various ſchemes of this kind, of great promiſe, have proved abortive, when brought to the teſt of experience; nor have we any reaſon to believe that the American projectors have been more fortunate than in England. EDITOR.

I doubt

I doubt not but, phyſically ſpeaking, this machine may produce part of the effects which are expected from it: but I doubt its utility in commerce; for notwithſtanding the aſſurances of the undertakers, it muſt require many men to manage it, and much expence in repairing the damages occaſioned by the violence and multiplicity of the friction. Yet I will allow, that if the movements can be ſimplified, and the expence leſſened, the invention may be uſeful in a country where labour is dear, and where the borders of rivers are not acceſſible, like thoſe in France, by horſes to draw the boats. This idea was conſoling to Dr. Thornton, whom I ſaw aſſailed by railleries on account of the *ſteam-boat*. Theſe railleries appear to me very ill placed. The obſtacles to be conquered by genius are every where ſo conſiderable, the encouragement ſo feeble, and the neceſſity of ſupplying the want of hand-labour in America ſo evident, that I cannot, without indignation, ſee the Americans diſcouraging, by their ſarcaſms, the generous efforts of one of their fellow-citizens. When will men be reaſonable enough to encourage each other by their mutual aid, and increaſe the general ſtock of public good, by mutual mildneſs and benevolence?

I was preſent at a meeting of the Agricultural Society. It is not of long ſtanding, but is numerous, and poſſeſſes a conſiderable fund. If ſuch a ſociety ought to receive encouragement in any country, it is in this. Agriculture is the firſt pillar of this ſtate* ; and though you find many

* Agriculture is the firſt pillar of *any* ſtate: it is the permanent wealth, and is influenced by no external events, which ſometimes annihilate commerce, or ſhift its ſite.

good farmers here, yet the great mafs of them want information; and this information can only be procured by the union of men well verfed in theory and practice.

The fubject of this meeting was an important one. The papillon, or worm, called *The Heffian Fly*, had, for feveral years, ravaged the wheat in many parts of the United States. The King of England, fearing that this infect might pafs into his ifland, had juft prohibited the importation of the American wheat. The fupreme executive council of Pennfylvania, in order to counteract the effects of this prohibition, by gaining information on the fubject, applied to the Society of Agriculture; they defired to know if this infect attacked the grain, and whether it was poffible to prevent its ravages.

Many farmers prefent at this meeting, from their own experience, and that of their neighbours and correfpondents, declared, the infect depofited its eggs, not in the ear, but in the ftalk; fo that they were well convinced, that, on threfhing the wheat, there could be nothing to fear that the eggs would mix with the grain; and confequently they could not be communicated with the grain.

Mr. Polwell. and M. Griffiths, prefident and fecretary of this fociety, do equal honour to it; the one by the neatnefs of his compofition, and the elegance of his ftyle; the other, by his indefatigable zeal.

Among the ufeful inftitutions which do honour to Philadelphia, you diftinguifh the public library; the origin of which is owing to the celebrated Franklin. It is fupported by fubfcription. The price of entrance into this fociety is ten pounds.

Any

Any perſon has the privilege of borrowing books. Half of the library is generally in the hands of readers; and I obſerved with pleaſure that the books were much worn by uſe.

At the ſide of this library is a cabinet of natural hiſtory. I obſerved nothing curious in it, but an enormous thigh-bone, and ſome teeth as enormous, found near the Ohio, in a maſs of prodigious bones, which nature ſeems to have thrown together in thoſe ages, whoſe events are covered from the eye of hiſtory by an impenetrable veil.

If there exiſts, ſays Franklin, an Atheiſt in the univerſe, he would be converted on ſeeing Philadelphia—on contemplating a town where every thing is ſo well arranged. If an idle man ſhould come into exiſtence here, on having conſtantly before his eyes the three amiable ſiſters, Wealth, Science, and Virtue, the children of Induſtry and Temperance, he would ſoon find himſelf in love with them, and endeavour to obtain them from their parents.

Such are the ideas offered to the mind on a market-day at Philadelphia. It is, without contradiction, one of the fineſt in the univerſe. Variety and abundance in the articles, order in the diſtribution, good faith and tranquillity in the trader, are all here united. One of the eſſential beauties of a market, is cleanlineſs in the proviſions, and in thoſe who ſell them. Cleanlineſs is conſpicuous here in every thing; even meat, whoſe aſpect is more or leſs diſguſting in other markets, here ſtrikes your eyes agreeably. The ſpectator is not tormented with the ſight of little ſtreams of blood, which infect the air and foul the ſtreets. The women who bring the produce of the country, are dreſſed with decency; their vegetables and

fruits are neatly arranged in handſome, well-made baſkets. Every thing is aſſembled here, the produce of the country and the works of induſtry; fleſh, fiſh, fruits, garden-ſeeds, pottery, iron ware, ſhoes, trays, buckets extremely well-made, &c.

The ſtranger is never wearied in contemplating this multitude of men and women moving and croſſing in every direction, without tumult or injury. You would ſay, that it was a market of brothers, that it was a rendezvous of philoſophers, of the pupils of the ſilent Pythagoras; for ſilence reigns without interruption: you hear none of thoſe piercing cries ſo common elſewhere; each one ſells, bargains, and buys in ſilence. The carts and horſes which have brought in the ſupplies are peaceably arranged in the next ſtreet, in the order in which they arrive; when diſengaged, they move off in ſilence: no quarrels among the carmen and the porters. You ſee none of our fools and macaronies galloping with looſe reins in the ſtreets. Theſe are the aſtoniſhing effects of habit; a habit inſpired by the Quakers, who planted morals in this country; a habit of doing every thing with tranquillity and with reaſon; a habit of injuring no perſon, and of having no need of the interpoſition of the magiſtrate.

To maintain order in ſuch a market in France, would require four judges and a dozen ſoldiers. Here the law has no need of muſkets; education and morals have done every thing. Two clerks of the police walk in the market. If they ſuſpect a pound of butter of being light, they weigh it: if light, it is ſeized for the uſe of the hoſpital.

You ſee, here, the fathers of families go to market. It was formerly ſo in France: their

wives

wives ſucceeded to them; thinking themſelves diſhonoured by the taſk, they have reſigned it to the ſervants. Neither economy nor morals have gained any thing by this change.

The price of bread is from one penny to two pence the pound, beef and mutton from two pence to four pence, veal from one penny to two pence; hay from twenty to thirty ſhillings the ton; butter from four pence to ſix pence the pound; wood from ſeven pence to eight pence the cord. Vegetables are in abundance, and cheap. Wines of Europe, particularly thoſe of France, are cheaper here than any where elſe. I have drank the wine of Provence, ſaid to be made by M. Bergaſſe at nine pence the bottle; but the taverns are extremely dear. Articles of luxury are expenſive: a hair-dreſſer coſts you eight pence a-day, or twelve ſhillings the month. I hired a one-horſe chaiſe three days; it coſt me three louis d'ors.

I had made an acquaintance at New-York with General Miflin, who was then ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives of Pennſylvania. I met him again at Philadelphia. He is an amiable, obliging man; full of activity, and very popular. He fills his place with dignity and firmneſs; an enemy to artifice and diſguiſe; he is frank, brave, diſintereſted, and warmly attached to democratic principles. He is no longer a Quaker: having taken arms, he was forced to quit the ſociety; but he ſtill profeſſes a great eſteem for that ſect, to which his wife has always remained faithful. The general had the complaiſance to conduct me one day to the General Aſſembly. I ſaw nothing remarkable in it: the building is far from that magnificence attributed to it by the Abbe Ray-

nal: it is certainly a fine building, when compared with the other edifices of Philadelphia; but it cannot be put in competition with thoſe public buildings which we call fine in Europe.

There were about fifty members preſent, ſeated on chairs incloſed by a baluſtrade. Behind the baluſtrade, is the gallery for ſpectators. A *Petit Maître*, who ſhould fall ſuddenly from Paris into this aſſembly, would undoubtedly find it ridiculous. He would ſcoff at the ſimplicity of their cloth coats, and, in ſome caſes, at the negligence of their toilettes; but every man who thinks, will deſire that this ſimplicity may for ever remain, and become univerſal. They pointed out to me, under one of theſe plain coats, a farmer by the name of Findley, whoſe eloquence diſplays the greateſt talents.

The eſtate of General Miflin, where we went to dine, is five miles from town, by the falls of the Skuylkill. Theſe falls are formed by a conſiderable bed of rocks: they are not perceivable when the water of the river is high. The general's houſe enjoys a moſt romantic proſpect.

Springmill, where I went to ſleep, is a hamlet eight miles up the Skuylkill. The beſt houſe in it is occupied by Mr. L. a Frenchman. It enjoys the moſt ſublime proſpect that you can imagine. It is ſituated on a hill. On the ſouth-eaſt, the Skuylkill flows at its foot through a magnificent channel between two mountains covered with wood. On the banks you perceive ſome ſcattering houſes and cultivated fields.

The ſoil is here compoſed of a great quantity of talc, granite, and a yellow gravel; ſome places a very black earth. In the neighbourhood are

quarries

quarries of marble of a middling fineneſs, of which many chimney-pieces are made.

I ſhall give you ſome details reſpecting this Frenchman's farm; they will ſhew you the manner of living among cultivators here, and they may be uſeful to any of our friends who may wiſh to eſtabliſh themſelves in this country. Obſervations on the manner of extending eaſe and happineſs among men, are, in the eyes of the philoſopher, as valuable as thoſe which teach the art of aſſaſſinating them. The houſe of Mr. L. is very well built in ſtone, two ſtories high, with five or ſix fine chambers in each ſtory. From the two gardens, formed like an amphitheatre, you enjoy that fine proſpect above mentioned. Theſe gardens are well cultivated, and contain a great quantity of bee-hives.

A highway ſeparates the houſe from the farm. He keeps about twenty horned cattle, and ten or twelve horſes. The ſituation of things on this farm, proves how little is to be feared from theft and robbery in this country; every thing is left open, or incloſed without locks. His farm conſiſts of two hundred and fifty acres; of which the greater part is in wood; the reſt is in wheat, Indian corn, buck-wheat, and meadow. He ſhewed me about an acre of medow, from which he has already taken this year, eight tons of hay: he calculates, that, including the third cutting, this acre will produce him this year ten pounds. His other meadows are leſs manured, and leſs productive.

Mr. L. recounted to me ſome of his paſt misfortunes—I knew them before—He was the victim of the perfidy of an intendent of Guadaloupe, who, to ſuppreſs the proofs of his own accompli-

city in a clandeſtine commerce, tried to deſtroy him by impriſonment, by aſſaſſination, and by poiſon. Eſcaped from theſe perſecutions, Mr. L. enjoys ſafety at Springmill; but he does not enjoy happineſs. He is alone; and what is a farmer without his wife and family?

He pays from five to ſix pounds taxes for all his property, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty acres of wood land, eight acres of arable, twenty-five acres of meadow, three acres of garden, a great houſe, ſeveral ſmall houſes for his ſervants, his barns, and his cattle. By this fact, ſome judgment may be formed on the ſubject of taxes in the United States. Mr. L. has attempted to cultivate the vine: he has planted a vineyard near his houſe, on a ſouth-eaſt expoſure, and it ſucceeds very well.

It is a remark to be made at every ſtep in America, that vegetation is rapid and ſtrong. The peach-tree, for example, grows faſt, and produces fruit in great quantities. Within one month after you have cut your wheat, you would not know your field; it is covered with graſs, very high, and very thick.

It will be a long time, however, before the vine can be cultivated to profit in America: firſt, becauſe labour is dear, and the vine requires vaſt labour *; ſecondly, becauſe the wines of Europe will be for a long time cheap in America.

* In Orleannois, the whole operation of cultivating the vine, and making the vintage, coſts to the proprietor thirty livres, twenty-five ſhillings ſterling an acre. A man cannot perform the labour of more than five acres a year; ſo that he gets ſix pounds pounds five ſhillings a year, and ſupports himſelf. Compare this with the price of labour in America, and that with the price of French wines.

Mr.

Mr. L. furniſhed me with the proof of this. He gave me ſome very good Nouſillon, which coſt him, by the ſingle bottle, only eight pence; and I know that this ſame wine, at firſt hand, coſt five pence or ſix pence.

I have already mentioned, that the paſtures and fields in America are incloſed with barriers of wood, or fences. Theſe, when made of rails ſupported by poſts, as above deſcribed, are expenſive, eſpecially in the neighbourhood of great towns, where wood is dear. Mr. L. thinks it beſt to replace them by ditches ſix feet deep, of which he throws the earth upon his meadows, and borders the ſides with hedges; and thus renders the paſſage impracticable to the cattle. This is an agricultural operation, which cannot be too much recommended to the Americans.

The country here is full of ſprings; we ſaw ſome very fine ones. Mr. L. told us of one which carries a mill night and day, and ſerves to water his meadows, when occaſion requires.

I aſked him where he purchaſed his meat? He ſays, when a farmer kills beef, mutton, or veal, he adverti ſes his neighbours, who take what they chuſe, and he ſalts the remainder. As he is here without his family, he has no ſpinning at his houſe; makes no cheeſe, keeps no poultry. Theſe parts of rural economy, which are exerciſed by women, are loſt to him; and it is a conſiderable loſs. He ſows no oats, but feeds his horſes with Indian corn and buck-wheat ground. I ſaw his vaſt corn-fields covered with pumpkins, which are profitable for cattle. He has a joiner's ſhop, and a turning lathe. He makes great quantities of lime on his farm, which ſells very well at Philadelphia. He has obtained leave from the ſtate to erect a ferry on the Skuylkill, which he ſays

will produce him a profit of forty pounds a year. He is about to build a ſaw-mill.

The lands newly cleared produce much more than the lands of France. He had bad wheat this year, though it had promiſed well: having grown to a prodigious height, the grain was ſhrivelled and meagre. He ſays, the mildew has diminiſhed his crop by more than three hundred buſhels. The cauſe of the mildew is ſuppoſed to be this:—That when the ſeaſon advances, it is ſometimes attended by fogs, and very heavy dews: the ſun burſting through the fog, evaporates the drops on the ſtalk; and the ſudden change from cold and wet, to warm and dry, enfeebles and withers the plant. The mildew is an evil very general in Pennſylvania.

Mr. L. told me, that there was no other remedy but to ſow early, that the plant may be more vigorous at the ſeaſon of the mildew.

This farm had coſt him two thouſand pounds; and he aſſured me, that, allowing nothing for ſome loſſes occaſioned by his ignorance of the country, of the language on his firſt arrival, and for the improvements he had made, his land produces more than the intereſt of his money. He told me, that the houſe alone had coſt more than he paid for the whole: and this is very probable. Perſons in general who deſire to make good bargains, ought to purchaſe lands already built upon; for, though the buildings have coſt much, they are counted for little in the ſale.

Though diſtant from ſociety, and ſtruggling againſt many diſadvantages, he aſſured me that he was comfortable; and that he ſhould not fail to be completely happy, were he ſurrounded by his family, which he had left in France.

He

He is attentive to the ſubject of meteorology; it is he that furniſhes the meteorologic tables publiſhed every month in the Columbian Magazine: they are certainly the moſt exact that have appeared on this continent. He thinks there is no great difference between the climate here and that of Paris: that here, the cold weather is more dry; that the ſnow and ice remain but a ſhort time; that there never paſſes a week without ſome fair days; that there falls more rain here than in France, but that it rarely rains two days ſucceſſively; that the heat is ſometimes more intenſe, that it provokes more to ſweat and to heavineſs; finally, that the variations are here more frequent and more rapid.

The following is the reſult of the obſervations of this Frenchman for four years:—The greateſt cold in this part of Pennſylvania, is commonly from 10 to 12 deg. below the freezing point of Reaumur's thermometer: the greateſt heats are from 26 to 28 deg. above: the mean term of his obſervations for four years, or the temperature, is 9 deg. and 6 tenths: the mean height of the barometer is twenty-nine inches ten lines and one tenth, Engliſh meaſure: the prevailing wind is north-north-weſt. In the year there are fifteen days of thunder, ſeventy-ſix days of rain, twelve days of ſnow, five days of tempeſt with rain; theſe eighty-one days of rain, with thoſe of ſnow, give thirty-five inches of water, French meaſure. The ſky is never obſcured three days together. The country is very healthy, and extremely vegetative. Wheat harveſt is from the 8th to the 12th of July. No predominant ſickneſs had been remarked during theſe four years.

During

During my ſtay in Philadelphia, I had the good fortune to meet here a Frenchman, who is travelling in this country, not in purſuit of wealth, but to gain information. It is Mr. Saugrain, from Paris: he is an ardent naturaliſt; ſome circumſtances firſt attached him to the ſervice of the king of Spain, who ſent him to Spaniſh America to make diſcoveries in minerals and natural hiſtory. After the death of his protector, Don Galves, he returned to France. In 1787, he formed the project with Mr. Piguet, who had ſome knowledge in botany, to viſit Kentuckey and the Ohio.

They arrived at Philadelphia, and paſſed immediately to Pittſburg. There the winter overtook them, and the Ohio froze over, which rarely happens. They lodged themſelves a few miles from Pittſburg, in an open houſe, where they ſuffered much from the cold. The thermometer of Reaumur deſcended to 32 deg. while at Philadelphia it was only at 16. During their ſtay here they made many experiments. Mr. Saugrain weighed ſeveral kinds of wood in an hydroſtatic balance which he carried with him. He diſcovered, likewiſe, which ſpecies would yield the greateſt quantity, and the beſt quality of potaſh. Many experiments convinced him, that the ſtalks of Indian corn yield a greater quantity than wood, in proportion to the quantity of matter. He examined the different mines of the country. He found ſome of iron, of lead, of copper, and of ſilver. He was told of a rich iron mine belonging to Mr. Murray; but he was not ſuffered to ſee it.

On the opening of the ſpring, they deſcended the Ohio, having been joined by another Frenchman,

man, Mr. Rague, and a Virginian. They landed at Muſkinquam, where they ſaw General Harmer, and ſome people who were beginning a ſettlement there.

At ſome diſtance below this place, they fell in with a party of ſavages. M. Piguet was killed, and M. Saugrain wounded and taken priſoner; he fortunately made his eſcape, rejoined the Virginian, and found the means of returning to Pittſburg, with the loſs of his money and all his effects. He then reviſited Philadelphia, on his way to Europe.

He communicated to me many obſervations on the weſtern country. The immenſe valley waſhed by the Ohio, appears to him the moſt fertile that he has ever ſeen. The ſtrength and rapidity of vegetation in that country are incredible, the ſize of the trees enormous, and their variety infinite. The inhabitants are obliged to exhauſt the firſt fatneſs of the land in hemp and tobacco, in order to prepare it for the production of wheat. The crops of Indian corn are prodigious; the cattle acquire an extraordinary ſize, and keep fat the whole year in the open fields.

The facility of producing grain, rearing cattle, making whiſky, beer, and cider, with a thouſand other advantages, attract to this country great numbers of emigrants from other parts of America. A man in that country works ſcarcely two hours in a day, for the ſupport of himſelf and family; he paſſes moſt of his time in idleneſs, hunting, or drinking. The women ſpin, and make clothes for their huſbands and families. Mr. Saugrain ſaw very good woollens and linens made there. They have very little money; every thing is done by barter.

The

The active genius of the Americans is always puſhing them forward. Mr. Saugrain has no doubt but ſooner or later the Spaniards will be forced to quit the Miſſiſſippi, and that the Americans will paſs it, and eſtabliſh themſelves in Louiſiana, which he has ſeen, and conſiders as one of the fineſt countries in the univerſe.

Mr. Saugrain came from Pittſburg to Philadelphia in ſeven days, on horſeback. He could have come in a chaiſe; but it would have taken him a longer time. It is a poſt road, with good taverns eſtabliſhed the whole way *.

When we contemplate the eſtabliſhments here in favour of the blacks, it may be maintained that there exiſts a country where they are allowed to have ſouls, and to be endowed with underſtanding capable of being formed to virtue and uſeful knowledge; where they are not regarded as beaſts of burden, in order that we may have the privilege of treating them as ſuch. There exiſts a country, then, where the blacks, by their virtues and their induſtry, belye the calumnies which their tyrants elſewhere laviſh againſt them; where no difference is perceived between the memory of a black head whoſe hair is craped by nature, and that of a white one craped by art. I have had a proof of this, on viſiting the ſchool for the blacks at this place. I have ſeen, heard, and examined theſe negro children. They read well, repeat from memory, and calculate with rapidity.

I ſaw in this ſchool, a mulatto one-eighth negro; it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh him from a

* This gentleman was ſo enchanted with the independent life of the inhabitants of the weſtern country, that he returned again in the year 1790, to ſettle at Scioto.

white

white boy. His eyes discovered an extraordinary vivacity; and this is a general characteristic of people of that origin.

The black girls, besides reading, writing, and the principles of religion, are taught spinning, needle-work, &c. and their mistresses assure me, that they discover much ingenuity. They have the appearance of decency, attention, and submission. It is a nursery of good servants and virtuous housekeepers. How criminal are the planters of the islands, who form but to debauchery and ignominy, creatures so capable of being fashioned to virtue!

It is to Benezet that humanity owes this useful establishment—to that Benezet whose benevolence some have not blushed to ridicule.

Anthony Benezet was born at St. Quintin, in Picardy, in 1712. Fanaticism, under the protection of a bigot king, directed by an infamous confessor, and an infamous woman, spread at that time its ravages in France. The parents of Benezet were warm Calvinists; they fled to England, and he embraced the doctrines of the Quakers. He went to America in 1731, and established himself at Philadelphia in commerce, the business to which he had been educated. But the rigidity of his principles and his taste not agreeing with the spirit of commerce, he quitted that business in 1736, and accepted a place in the academy of that society. From that time all his moments were consecrated to public instruction, the relief of the poor, and the defence of the unhappy negroes. Benezet possessed an universal philanthropy, which was not common at that time; he regarded, as his brothers, all men, of all countries, and of all colours; he composed

many

many works, in which he collected all the authorities from ſcripture, and from other writings, to diſcourage and condemn the ſlave trade and ſlavery. His works had much influence in determining the Quakers to emancipate their ſlaves.

It was not enough to ſet at liberty the unhappy blacks; it was neceſſary to inſtruct them—to find them ſchoolmaſters. And where ſhould he find men willing to devote themſelves to a taſk which prejudice had rendered painful and diſguſting? No obſtacle could arreſt the zeal of Benezet; he ſet the firſt example himſelf: he conſecrated his little fortune to the foundation of this ſchool; his brethren lent ſome aſſiſtance; and by the help of the donations of the ſociety of London, the ſchool for blacks at Philadelphia enjoys a revenue of two hundred pounds ſterling.

He conſecrated his fortune and his talents to their inſtruction; and in 1784, death removed him from this holy occupation, to receive his reward. The tears of the blacks, which watered his tomb, the ſighs of his fraternity, and of every friend of humanity which attended his departing ſpirit, muſt be a prize more conſoling than the laurels of a conqueror.

This philanthropic Quaker was preceded and followed in the ſame career by many others, whom it is unneceſſary to mention. In the United States, humanity begins to triumph over unfeeling avarice, and the reign of ſlavery is haſtening to a termination.

Scarcely was independence declared, when a general cry aroſe againſt this commerce. It appeared abſurd for men defending their own liberty, to deny liberty to others. A pamphlet was printed, in which the principles on which

ſlavery is founded, were held up in contraſt with thoſe which laid the foundation of the new conſtitution.

This palpable method of ſtating the ſubject, was attended with ſucceſs; and the congreſs, in 1774, declared the ſlavery of the blacks to be incompatible with the baſis of republican governments. Different legiſlatures haſtened to conſecrate this principle of congreſs.

Three diſtinct epochs mark the conduct of the Americans in this buſineſs—the prohibition of the importation of ſlaves—their manumiſſion—and the proviſion made for their inſtruction. All the different ſtates are not equally advanced in theſe three objects.

In the northern and middle ſtates, they have proſcribed for ever the importation of ſlaves; in others, this prohibition is limited to a certain time. In South Carolina, where it was limited to three years, it has lately been extended to three years more. Georgia is the only ſtate that continues to receive tranſported ſlaves. Yet, when General Oglethorpe laid the foundation of this colony, he ordained, that neither rum nor ſlaves ſhould ever be imported into it. This law, in both its articles, was very ſoon violated.

A numerous party ſtill argue the impoſſibility of cultivating their ſoil without the hands of ſlaves, and the impoſſibility of augmenting their number without recruiting them in Africa. It was this party that propoſed to bind the hands of the new congreſs, and to put it out of their power for twenty years to prohibit the importation of ſlaves. It was ſaid to this aſſembly, *Sign this article, or we will withdraw from the union.* To avoid the evils, which, without meliorating the

fate of the blacks, would attend a political ſchiſm, the convention was forced to wander from the grand principle of univerſal liberty, and the preceding declaration of congreſs. They thought it their duty to imitate Solon, to make, not the beſt law poſſible, but the beſt that circumſtances would bear*.

But, though this article has ſurpriſed the friends of liberty in Europe, where the ſecret cauſes of it were not known; yet we may regard the general and irrevocable proſcription of the ſlave trade in the United States, as very near at hand. This concluſion reſults from the nature of things, and even from the article itſelf of the new conſtitution now cited. Indeed, nine ſtates have already done it; the blacks, which there abound, are conſidered as free. There are then nine aſylums for thoſe to eſcape to from Georgia; not to ſpeak of the neighbourhood of the Floridas, where the ſlaves from Georgia take refuge, in hopes to find better treatment from the Spaniards; and not to ſpeak of thoſe vaſt foreſts and inacceſſible mountains which make part of the ſouthern ſtates, and where the perſecuted negro may eaſily find a retreat from ſlavery. The communications with the back country are ſo eaſy, that it is impoſſible to ſtop the fugitives; and the expence of reclaiming is diſproportioned to their value. And though the free ſtates do not, in appearance, oppoſe theſe reclamations, yet the people there hold ſlavery in ſuch horror,

* The principle of Solon is certainly juſt. Laws muſt be adapted to the prejudices, the errors, the ignorance of men. Whoever founds them on abſtract notions of perfection, will find them inapplicable to the ſituation of any people on earth.

that

that the maſter who runs after his human property, meets little reſpect, and finds little aſſiſtance. Thus the poſſibility of flight creates a new diſcouragement to the importation, as it muſt leſſen the value of the ſlave, induce to a milder treatment, and finally tend, with the concurrence of other circumſtances, to convince the Georgian planter, that it is more ſimple, more reaſonable, and leſs expenſive, to cultivate by the hands of freemen.

Slavery has never polluted every part of the United States. There was never any law in New Hampſhire, or Maſſachuſetts, which authoriſed it. When, therefore, thoſe ſtates proſcribed it, they only declared the law as it exiſted before. There was very little of it in Connecticut; the puritanic auſterity which predominated in that colony, could ſcarcely reconcile itſelf with ſlavery. Agriculture was better performed there by the hands of freemen; and every thing concurred to engage the people to give liberty to the ſlaves:—ſo that almoſt every one has freed them; and the children of ſuch as are not yet free, are to have their liberty at twenty-five years of age.

The caſe of the blacks in New-York is nearly the ſame; yet the ſlaves there are more numerous.

It is becauſe the baſis of the population there is Dutch; that is to ſay, people leſs diſpoſed than any other to part with their property. But liberty is aſſured there to all the children of the ſlaves, at a certain age.

The ſtate of Rhode-Iſland formerly made a great buſineſs of the ſlave trade. It is now totally and for ever prohibited.

In New-Jerſey the bulk of the population is Dutch. You find there, traces of that ſame Dutch ſpirit which I have deſcribed. Yet the weſtern parts of the ſtate are diſpoſed to free their negroes; but the eaſtern part are oppoſed to it.

The Quakers have been more fortunate in Pennſylvania. In the year 1758, they voted, in their general meeting, to excommunicate every member of the ſociety who ſhould perſiſt in keeping ſlaves. In 1780, at their requeſt, ſeconded by a great number of perſons from other ſects, the general aſſembly aboliſhed ſlavery for ever, forced the owners of ſlaves to cauſe them to be enregiſtered, declared their children free at the age of twenty-eight years, placed them, while under that age, on a footing of hired ſervants, aſſured to them the benefit of trial by jury, &c. But this act did not provide againſt all the abuſes that avarice could afterwards invent. It was eluded in many points. A foreign commerce of ſlaves was carried on by ſpeculators; and ſome barbarous maſters ſold their blacks, to be carried into foreign countries; others ſent the negro children into neighbouring ſtates, that they might there be ſold, and deprived of the benefit of the law of Pennſylvania, when they ſhould come of age; others ſent their black pregnant women into another ſtate, that the offſpring might be ſlaves; and others ſtole free negroes, and carried them to the iſlands for ſale. The ſociety, ſhocked at theſe abuſes, applied again to the aſſembly, who paſſed a new act in March laſt, effectually to prevent them. It ordained, that no black could be ſent into a neighbouring ſtate without his conſent; confiſcated all veſſels and cargoes employed

in

in the ſlave trade; condemned to the public works the ſtealers of negroes, &c.

The little ſtate of Delaware has followed the example of Pennſylvania. It is moſtly peopled by Quakers—inſtances of giving freedom are therefore numerous. In this ſtate, famous for the wiſdom of its laws, for its good faith and federal patriotiſm, reſides that benevolent character, Warner Miflin. Like Beneze, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his ſociety relative to the freedom of the blacks, and the care of providing for their exiſtence and their inſtruction. It is in part to his zeal that is owing the formation of a ſociety in that ſtate, after the model of the one at Philadelphia, for the abolition of ſlavery.

With the ſtate of Delaware finiſhes the ſyſtem of protection to the blacks. Yet there are ſome negroes freed in Maryland, becauſe there are ſome Quakers there; and you perceive it very readily, on comparing the fields of tobacco or of Indian corn belonging to theſe people, with thoſe of others; you ſee how much ſuperior the hand of a freeman is to that of a ſlave, in the operations of induſtry.

When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourſelf in a different world; and you are convinced of it, when you converſe with the inhabitants. They behold with uneaſineſs, the efforts that are making to aboliſh ſlavery. The Virginians are perſuaded of the impoſſibility of cultivating tobacco without ſlaves; they fear, that if the blacks become free, they will cauſe trouble; on rendering them free, they know not what rank to aſſign them in ſociety; whether

they ſhall eſtabliſh them in a ſeparate diſtrict, or ſend them out of the country. Theſe are the objections which you will hear repeated every where againſt the idea of freeing them.

The ſtrongeſt objection lies in the character, the manners and habits of the Virginians. They ſeem to enjoy the ſweat of ſlaves. They are fond of hunting; they love the diſplay of luxury, and diſdain the idea of labour. This order of things will change when ſlavery ſhall be no more. It is not, that the work of a ſlave is more profitable than that of a freeman; but it is in multiplying the ſlaves, condemning them to a miſerable nouriſhment, in depriving them of clothes, and in running over a large quantity of land with a negligent culture, that they ſupply the neceſſity of honeſt induſtry.

The free blacks in the eaſtern ſtates, are either hired ſervants, or they keep little ſhops, or they cultivate the land. Some of them are to be ſeen on board of coaſting veſſels. They dare not venture themſelves on long voyages, for fear of being tranſported and ſold in the iſlands. As to their phyſical character, the blacks are vigorous, of a ſtrong conſtitution, capable of the moſt painful labour, and generally active. As ſervants, they are ſober and faithful. Thoſe who keep ſhops, live moderately, and never augment their affairs beyond a certain point.

The reaſon is obvious: the whites, though they treat them with humanity, like not to give them credit to enable them to undertake any extenſive commerce, nor even to give them the means of a common education, by receiving them into their counting-houſes. If, then, the blacks

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are confined to the retails of trade, let us not accuſe their capacity, but the prejudices of the whites, which lay obſtacles in their way.

The ſame cauſes hinder the blacks, who live in the country, from having large plantations. Their little fields are generally well cultivated; their log-houſes, full of children decently clad, attract the eye of the philoſopher, who rejoices to ſee, that in theſe habitations, no tears atteſt the rod of tyranny.

In this ſituation the blacks are indeed happy; but let us have the courage to avow, that neither this happineſs, nor their talents, have yet attained their perfection. There exiſts ſtill too great an interval between them and the whites, eſpecially in the public opinion. This humiliating difference prevents thoſe efforts which they might make to raiſe themſelves. Black children are admitted to the public ſchools; but you never ſee them within the walls of a college. Though free, they are always accuſtomed to conſider themſelves as beneath the whites.

We may conclude from this, that it is unfair to meaſure the extent of their capacity by the examples already given by the free blacks of the north.

But when we compare them to the ſlaves of the ſouth, what a difference we find!—In the ſouth, the blacks are in a ſtate of abjection difficult to deſcribe; many of them are naked, ill fed, lodged in miſerable huts, on ſtraw. They receive no education, no inſtruction in any kind of religion; they are not married, but coupled. Thus are they brutalized, lazy, without ideas, and without energy. They give themſelves no trouble to procure clothes, or to have better food;

they

they pafs their Sunday, which is their day of reft, in total inaction. Inaction is their fupreme happineſs; they therefore perform little labour, and that in a careleſs manner.

We muſt do juſtice to the truth. The Americans of the ſouthern ſtates treat their ſlaves with mildneſs; it is one of the effects of the general extenſion of the ideas of liberty. The ſlave labours leſs; but this is all the alteration made in his circumſtances, and he is not the better for it, either in his nouriſhment, his clothing, his morals, or his ideas. So that the maſter loſes; but the ſlave does not gain. If they would follow the example of the northern ſtates, both whites and blacks would be gainers by the change.

When we deſcribe the ſlaves of the ſouth, we ought to diſtinguiſh thoſe that are employed as houſe-ſervants, from thoſe that work and live in the field. The picture that I have given, belongs to the latter; the former are better clad, more active, and leſs ignorant.

It has been generally thought, and even written by ſome authors of note, that the blacks are inferior to the whites in mental capacity. This opinion begins to diſappear; the northern ſtates furniſh examples to the contrary. I ſhall cite two, which are ſtriking ones: the firſt proves, that, by inſtruction, a black may be rendered capable of any of the profeſſions: the ſecond, that the head of a negro may be organiſed for the moſt aſtoniſhing calculations, and conſequently for all the ſciences.

I ſaw at Philadelphia a black phyſician, named James Derham. The following hiſtory of him was atteſted to me by many phyſicians:

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He was brought up a ſlave in a family of Philadelphia, where he learned to read and write, and was inſtructed in the principles of religon. When young, he was ſold to Dr. John Kearſley, junior, who employed him in compounding medicines, and in adminiſtering them in ſome caſes to the ſick. At the death of Dr. Kearſley he paſſed through different hands, and came to be the property of George Weſt, ſurgeon of the Britiſh army, under whom, during the war in America, he performed the lower functions in phyſic.

At the cloſe of the war, he was purchaſed by Dr. Robert Dove of New Orleans, who employed him as his aſſiſtant. He gained the doctor's good opinion and friendſhip to ſuch a degree that he ſoon gave him his freedom on moderate conditions. Derham was, by this time, ſo well inſtructed, that he immediately began to practiſe, with ſucceſs, at New Orleans: he is about twenty-ſix years of age, married, but has no children. His practice brings him three thouſand livres a year. Dr. Wiſtar told me, that he converſed with him particularly on the acute diſeaſes of the country where he lives, and found him well verſed in the ſimple methods now in practice of treating thoſe diſeaſes. I thought, ſaid the doctor, to have indicated to him ſome new remedies; but he indicated new ones to me.

He is modeſt, and has engaging manners; he ſpeaks French with facility, and has ſome knowledge of the Spaniſh.

The other inſtance has been cited by Doctor Ruſh, a celebrated phyſician and writer of Philadelphia. It is Thomas Fuller, born in Africa, a ſlave, near ſeventy years of age, near Alexandria. He can neither read nor write, and has had

had no inſtruction of any kind; but he calculates with ſurpriſing facility, and will anſwer any queſtion in arithmetic, with a promptitude that has no example.

Theſe inſtances prove, without doubt, that the capacity of the negroes may be extended to any thing; that they have only need of inſtruction and liberty. The difference between thoſe who are free and inſtructed, and thoſe who are not, is ſtill more viſible in their induſtry. The lands inhabited by the whites and free blacks, are better cultivated, produce more abundantly, and offer every where the image of eaſe and happineſs. Such, for example, is the aſpect of Connecticut, and of Pennſylvania.

They begin to perceive, even in the ſouthern ſtates, that, to nouriſh a ſlave ill, is a miſtaken economy; and that money employed in their purchaſe, does not render its intereſt. It is perhaps more owing to this conſideration than to humanity, that you ſee free labour introduced in a part of Virginia, in that part bordered by the beautiful river Shennadore. In travelling here, you will think yourſelf in Pennſylvania.

Such will be the face of all Virginia, when ſlavery ſhall be at an end. They think ſlaves neceſſary only for the cultivation of tobacco: this culture declines, and muſt decline in Virginia. The tobacco of the Ohio and the Miſſiſſippi is more abundant, of a better quality, and requires leſs labour. When this tobacco ſhall open its way to Europe, the Virginians will be obliged to ceaſe from this culture, and aſk of the earth, wheat, corn, and potatoes; they will make meadows, and rear cattle. The wiſe Virginians anticipate this revolution, and begin the culture of

wheat,

wheat. At their head may be reckoned that aſtoniſhing man, General Waſhington, who alone ſeems ignorant of his own glory. At preſent, wholly occupied in ameliorating his lands, in varying their produce, in opening roads and canals, he gives his countrymen an uſeful example, which doubtleſs will be followed.

He has, nevertheleſs, a numerous crowd of ſlaves; but they are treated with the greateſt humanity; well fed, well clothed, and kept to moderate labour; they bleſs God without ceaſing, for having given them ſo good a maſter. It is a taſk worthy of a ſoul ſo elevated, ſo pure, and ſo diſintereſted, to begin the revolution in Virginia, to prepare the way for the emancipation of the negroes. This great man declared to me, that he rejoiced at what was doing in other ſtates on this ſubject; that he ſincerely deſired the extenſion of it in his own country: but he did not diſſemble, that there were ſtill many obſtacles to be overcome; that it was dangerous to ſtrike too vigorouſly at a prejudice which had begun to diminiſh; that time, patience, and information, would not fail to vanquiſh it. Almoſt all the Virginians, added he, believe that the liberty of the blacks cannot ſoon become general. This is the reaſon why they wiſh not to form a ſociety, which may give dangerous ideas to their ſlaves. There is another obſtacle—the great plantations of which the ſtate is compoſed, render it neceſſary for men to live ſo diſperſed, that frequent meetings of a ſociety would be difficult.

I replied, that the Virginians were in an error, that evidently ſooner or later, the negroes would obtain their liberty every where. It is then for the intereſt of your countrymen to prepare the

way

way to ſuch a revolution, by endeavouring to reconcile the reſtitution of the rights of the blacks with the intereſt of the whites. The means neceſſary to be taken to this effect, can only be the work of a ſociety; and it is worthy the ſaviour of America to put himſelf at their head, and to open the door of liberty to three hundred thouſand unhappy beings of his own ſtate. He told me, that he deſired the formation of a ſociety, and that he would ſecond it; but that he did not think the moment favourable*.—Doubtleſs more elevated views abſorbed his attention, and filled his ſoul. The deſtiny of America was juſt ready to be placed a ſecond time in his hands.

The ſociety of Philadelphia, which may be regarded as the ſource of theſe inſtitutions, has lately taken more effectual meaſures, both to inſtruct the blacks, and to form them to different employments. "The wretch," ſay they, in their addreſs to the public, "who has long been treated as a beaſt of burden, is often degraded ſo far as to appear of a ſpecies inferior to that of other men; the chains which bind his body, curb likewiſe his intellectual faculties, and enfeeble the ſocial affections of his heart."

To inſtruct and counſel thoſe who are free, and render them capable of enjoying civil liberty; to excite them to induſtry; to furniſh them with occupations ſuitable to their age, ſex, talents, and

* Waſhington ſaw with the eye of a politician as well as of a philoſopher. Theſe ſocieties, however praiſeworthy in the abſtract, have certainly led to dangerous conſequences in Europe, and the Weſt Indies. Briſſot was a leader in the French ſociety of Les Amis de Noirs; and hence the details he has entered into reſpecting ſlavery, which, however, we have conſiderably abridged.

other

other circumſtances; and to procure to their children an education ſuitable to their ſtation, are the principal objects of this ſociety.

For this end they have appointed four committees: firſt, a committee of inſpection, to watch over the morals and general conduct of the free blacks; ſecond, a committee of guardians, whoſe buſineſs it is to place the children with honeſt tradeſmen and others, to acquire trades; third, a committee of education, to overſee the ſchools; fourth, a committee of employ, who find employment for thoſe who are in a ſituation to work. What friend of humanity does not leap with joy at the view of an object ſo pious and ſublime? Who does not perceive it is dictated by that ſpirit of perſeverance, which animates men of dignity, habituated to good actions, not from oſtentation, but from a conſciouſneſs of duty? Such are the men who compoſe theſe American ſocieties.

The following eloquent extract from the addreſs of the ſociety of Pennſylvania, to congreſs, in 1787, deſerves to be preſerved.

"We conjure you," ſay they, "by the attributes of the Divinity, inſulted by this inhuman traffic; by the union of all the human race in our common father, and by all the obligations reſulting from this union; by the fear of the juſt vengeance of God in national judgments; by the certainty of the great and terrible day of the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments; by the efficacy of the prayers of good men, who would inſult the Majeſty of Heaven, if they were to offer them in favour of our country, as long as the iniquity we now practiſe continues its ravages among us; by the ſacred name of Chriſtians; by

the pleaſures of domeſtic connections, and the anguiſh of their diſſolution; by the ſufferings of our American brethren, groaning in captivity at Algiers, which Providence ſeems to have ordained, to awaken us to a ſentiment of the injuſtice and cruelty of which we are guilty towards the wretched Africans; by the reſpect due to conſiſtency in the principles and conduct of true republicans; by our great and intenſe deſire of extending happineſs to the millions of intelligent beings, who are, doubtleſs, one day to people this immenſe continent; finally, by all other conſiderations, which religion, reaſon, policy, and humanity can ſuggeſt; we conjure the convention of the United States, to make the ſuppreſſion of the ſlave trade a ſubject of ſerious deliberation."

Addreſſes from all parts of the United States, ſigned by the moſt reſpectable men, have been preſented to the new congreſs. Never was a ſubject more warmly debated; and, what never happened before in America, it gave occaſion for the moſt atrocious invectives from the adverſaries of humanity.

On this continent, ſo polluted and tormented with ſlavery, Providence has placed two powerful and infallible means of deſtroying this evil. The means are, the ſocieties of which we have been ſpeaking, and the ſugar-maple.

Of all vegetables containing ſugar, this maple, after the ſugar-cane, contains the greateſt quantity. It grows naturally in the United States, and may be propagated with great facility.

All America ſeems covered with it, from Canada to Virginia; it becomes more rare at the ſouthward, on the eaſt of the mountains; but it is found in abundance in the back country.

Such

Such is the beneficent tree which has, for a long time, recompenſed the happy coloniſts, whoſe poſition deprived them of the delicate ſugar of our iſlands.

They have till lately contented themſelves with beſtowing very little labour on the manufacture, only bringing it to a ſtate of common coarſe ſugar; but ſince the Quakers have diſcerned in this production, the means of deſtroying ſlavery, they have felt the neceſſity of carrying it to perfection; and ſucceſs has crowned their endeavours.

The difficulties attending the cultivation of the cane are well known. It is a tender plant; it has many enemies, and requires conſtant care and labour to defend it from numerous accidents: add to theſe, the painful efforts that the preparation and manufacture coſts to the wretched Africans; and, on comparing theſe to the advantages of the maple, you will be convinced, by a new argument, that much pains are often taken to commit unprofitable crimes. The maple is produced by nature; the ſap to be extracted, requires no preparatory labour; it runs in February and March, a ſeaſon unſuitable for other rural operations. Each tree, without injury to itſelf, gives twelve or fifteen gallons, which will produce at leaſt five pounds of ſugar. A man, aided by four children, may eaſily, during four weeks running of the ſap, make fifteen hundred pounds of ſugar*.

Advantages,

* M. Lanthenas, one of the moſt enlightened defenders of the blacks in France, has made ſome calculations on this ſubject. Suppoſing, ſays he, that a family will produce in a ſeaſon

Advantages, like theſe, have not failed to excite the attention of the friends of humanity; ſo that, beſides the ſocieties formed for the abolition of ſlavery, another is formed, whoſe expreſs object is, to perfect this valuable production.

Mr. Drinker, of Philadelphia, made, laſt year, ſixty barrels of maple ſugar on his eſtate on the Delaware; and he has publiſhed a pamphlet on the beſt method of proceeding in this manufacture.

Edward Pennington, of Philadelphia, formerly a refiner in the Weſt Indies, has declared this ſugar equal to that of the iſlands, in grain, colour, and taſte.

The cultivators in the ſtate of New York perceive, in an equal degree, the advantages of this production; they have made, this year, a great quantity of ſugar, and brought it to great perfection.

What an aſtoniſhing effect it would produce, to naturalize this tree through all Europe! In France, we might plant them at twenty feet diſtance, in a kind of orchard, which would at the ſame time produce paſture, fruits, and other vegetables. In this manner an acre would contain, one hundred and forty trees, which, even when

ſeaſon one thouſand five hundred pounds of ſugar; eighty thouſand families will produce, and that with very little trouble, a quantity equal to what is exported from St. Domingo in the moſt plentiful year, which is reckoned at one hundred and twenty millions. This ſuppoſes twenty millions of trees, rendering five pounds each, eſtimating the acre of the United States at thirty-eight thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-ſix ſquare feet of France; and ſuppoſing the trees planted at ſeven feet diſtance, about thirty thouſand acres appropriated to this uſe, would ſuffice for the above quantity of ſugar.

young,

young, would produce three hundred pounds of ſugar a year. This would give four hundred and twenty pounds the acre, which, at three pence ſterling the pound, and deducting one half for the labour, would yield annually fifty-two pounds ſix ſhillings ſterling, clear profit; beſides other productions, which theſe trees would not impede. This calculation might be reaſonably carried much higher; but I choſe to keep it as low as poſſible*.

Here Briſſot introduces the ideas of Dr. Thornton, on the re-emigration of the blacks to Africa. This ardent friend of the blacks, ſays he, is perſuaded, that we cannot hope to ſee a ſincere union between them and the whites, as long as they differ ſo much in colour, and in their rights as citizens. He attributes to no other cauſe, the apathy perceivable in many blacks, even in Maſſachuſetts, where they are free. Deprived of the hope of electing or being elected repreſentatives, or of riſing to any places of honour and truſt, the negroes ſeem condemned to drag out their days in a ſtate of ſervility, or to languiſh in ſhops of retail. The whites reproach them with a want of cleanlineſs, indolence, and inattention. But how can they be induſtrious and active, while an inſurmountable barrier ſeparates them from other citizens?

* The author ought to have carried the idea farther. The ſugar maple for fuel is equal to the beſt oak; for cabinet-work, and many ſimilar uſes, it is ſuperior to moſt of the ſpecies of wood uſed in Europe; as a tree of ornament and pleaſure, it is at leaſt equal to the elm or poplar. The experiment of M. Noailles, in his garden at St. Germains, proves that this American tree would ſucceed well in Europe.

Even, on admitting them to all the rights of citizens, I know not if it would be poſſible to effect a laſting and ſincere union; we are ſo ſtrongly inclined to love our likeneſs, that there would be unceaſing ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and partialities, between the whites and blacks. We muſt then recur to the project of Mr. Thornton—a project firſt imagined by that great apoſtle of philanthropy, Doctor Fothergill!—a project executed by the ſociety at London, or rather by the beneficent Grenville Sharp!—a project for reſtoring the negroes to their country, to eſtabliſh them there, and encourage them in the cultivation of coffee, ſugar, cotton, &c. to carry on manufacture, and to open a commerce with Europe. Mr. Thornton has occupied himſelf with this conſoling idea. He propoſed himſelf to be the conductor of the American negroes, who ſhould repair to Africa. He propoſed to unite them to the new colony at Sierra Leona. He had ſent, at his own expence, into Africa, a well-inſtructed man, who had ſpent ſeveral years in obſerving the productions of the country, the manufactures moſt ſuitable to it, the place moſt convenient, and the meaſures neceſſay to be taken to ſecure the colony from inſults, and every thing was prepared. He had communicated his plan to ſome members of the legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts, who did not at firſt reliſh it. They liked better to give lands to their negroes, and encourage them in the cultivation. But, ſays the doctor, what can they do with their land, unaccuſtomed to war, and ſurrounded by ſavages? Suppoſing them to ſucceed, will you admit their repreſentatives to ſit in your aſſemblies, to preſide over you? —No. Reſtore them then to their native country.

The doctor was perſuaded, that when his deſign ſhould be known, thouſands of the negroes would follow him. He had remarked, as well as I, the injuſtice of reproaching them with the ſpirit of idleneſs. If they are lazy, ſays he, why ſo much expence to go and ſteal them from their country for the ſake of their labour?

The ſtate of Maſſachuſetts has ſince received a requeſt from the negroes, for the execution of the project. They have promiſed to give aid to it, as ſoon as they ſhall be aſſured of a ſituation in Africa proper for a good eſtabliſhment: they have even promiſed to furniſh veſſels, inſtruments, proviſions, &c.

What advantage would reſult to Africa, to Europe, and even to America, from the execution of this plan! for the blacks of Africa would gradually civilize by the aſſiſtance of thoſe from America; and the whites, whom they ought to execrate, would never mingle with them. By this civilization, Europe would open a vaſt market to her manufactures, and obtain, at a cheap rate, and without the effuſion of blood, thoſe productions which coſt her at the iſlands ſo much money and ſo many crimes. God grant that this idea may ſoon be realized!

A ſociety is formed in England, whoſe object is to follow the eſtabliſhment of Sierra Leona, and open a trade there for the productions of the country. This ſettlement is on land belonging to the Engliſh, and dependent on the Engliſh government.

Another ſociety is formed, whoſe object is partly the ſame, but who wiſh to render this eſtabliſhment independent of every European government. They have lately publiſhed their plan,

under

under the following title: "Plan of a free Community on the coaſt of Africa, formed under the protection of Great Britain, but entirely independent of all European government and laws; with an invitation, under certain conditions, to thoſe who may deſire to partake of the advantages of this undertaking."

In this plan, of which every friend to humanity muſt wiſh the ſucceſs, it is declared, that the ſociety is founded on the principle of univerſal philanthropy, and not ſimply for the neceſſities of commerce:—advantages too much prized; as if the happineſs of all the human race conſiſted in the acquiſition of wealth.

In conſidering the vices, ſays Briſſot, which tarniſh Old Europe, and the mild fraternity that unites the Quakers, Voltaire ſometimes flew off in imagination beyond the ſeas, and longed to go and finiſh his days in the city of Brothers. What would he have ſaid, had he been able to have realized his dream, and to have been a witneſs of the peace which reigns in this town? I am wrong: Voltaire would have haſtened to return to Europe: he burned with the love of glory; he lived upon incenſe, and he would have received but little here. The gravity of the Quakers would have appeared to him a gloomy pedantry; he would have yawned in their aſſemblies, and been mortified to ſee his epigrams paſs without applauſe; he would have ſighed for the ſparkling wit of his amiable fops of Paris.

Philadelphia may be conſidered as the metropolis of the United States. It is certainly the fineſt town, and the beſt built; it is the moſt wealthy, though not the moſt luxurious. You find here more men of information, more politi-

cal

cal and literary knowledge, and more learned ſocities. Many towns in America are more ancient, but Philadelphia has ſurpaſſed her elders.

The Swedes were firſt eſtabliſhed on the ſpot where this town has been ſince built. The Swediſh church on the banks of the Delaware is more than one hundred years old. It is the oldeſt church in the town, at preſent under the care of Dr. Collins, a Swediſh miniſter of great learning and merit. He writes very well in Engliſh, and has compoſed many works in that language; among which is the Foreign Spectator.

Penn brought into his new colony a government truly fraternal. Brothers who live together, have no need of ſoldiers, nor forts, nor police, nor that formidable apparatus which makes of European towns garriſons of war.

At ten o'clock in the evening all is tranquil in the ſtreets; the profound ſilence which reigns there, is only interrupted by the voice of the watchmen, who are in ſmall numbers, and who form the only patrole. The ſtreets are lighted by lamps, placed like thoſe of London.

On the ſide of the ſtreets are footways of brick, and gutters conſtructed of brick or wood. Strong poſts are placed to prevent carriages from paſſing on the footways. All the ſtreets are furniſhed with public pumps, in great numbers. At the door of each houſe are placed two benches, where the family ſit at evening to take the freſh air, and amuſe themſelves in looking at the paſſengers. It is certainly a bad cuſtom, as the evening air is unhealthful, and the exerciſe is not ſufficient to correct this evil, for they never walk here: they ſupply the want of walking, by riding out into the country. They have few coaches

at

at Philadelphia. You ſee many handſome waggons, which are uſed to carry the family into the country; they are a kind of long carriage, light and open, and may contain twelve perſons. They have many chairs and ſulkeys, open on all ſides; the former may carry two perſons, the latter only one.

The horſes uſed in theſe carriages are neither handſome nor ſtrong; but they travel very well. I ſuſpect the Americans of not taking ſufficient care of their horſes, and of nouriſhing them ill; they give them no ſtraw in the ſtable: on returning from long and fatiguing courſes, they are ſent to paſture.

Philadelphia is built on a regular plan; long and large ſtreets croſs each other at right angles: this regularity, which is a real ornament, is at firſt embarraſſing to a ſtranger; he has much difficulty in finding himſelf, eſpecially as the ſtreets are not inſcribed, and the doors not numbered. It is ſtrange that the Quakers, who are ſo fond of order, have not adopted theſe two conveniences; that they have not borrowed them from the Engliſh, of whom they have borrowed ſo many things. This double defect is a torment to ſtrangers. The ſhops, which adorn the principal ſtreets, are remarkable for their neatneſs.

The State-houſe, where the legiſlature aſſembles, is a handſome building: by its ſide they are building a magnificent houſe of juſtice.

Mr. Raynal has exaggerated every thing; the buildings, the library, the ſtreets: he ſpeaks of ſtreets one hundred feet wide; there is none of this width, except Market-ſtreet; they are generally from fifty to ſixty feet wide. He ſpeaks of wharfs of two hundred feet: there is none ſuch here;

here; the wharfs in general are ſmall and niggardly. He ſays they have every where followed the plan laid down by Mr. Penn in building their houſes. They have violated it in building Water-ſtreet, where he had projected elegant wharfs. Raynal ſpeaks likewiſe of houſes covered with ſlate, and of marble monuments in the churches, and in the halls of the ſtate-houſe. I have ſeen nothing of all this.

Behind the State-houſe is a public garden; it is the only one that exiſts in Philadelphia. It is not large; but it is agreeable, and one may breathe in it. It is compoſed of a number of verdant ſquares, interſected by alleys.

All the ſpace, from Front-ſtreet on the Delaware to Front-ſtreet on the Skuylkill, is already diſtributed into ſquares for ſtreets and houſes, they build here; but not ſo briſkly as at New-York. The inhabitants wiſh for the aggrandizement of their city: they are wrong, Philadelphia is already too conſiderable. When towns acquire this degree of population, you muſt have hoſpitals, priſons, ſoldiers, police, ſpies, and all the ſweeping train of luxury; that luxury which Penn wiſhed to avoid. It already appears. They have carpets, which, in ſummer, are an abſurdity; yet they ſpread them in this ſeaſon, and from vanity: this vanity excuſes itſelf, by ſaying that the carpet is an ornament; that is to ſay, they ſacrifice reaſon and utility to ſhow.

The Quakers have likewiſe carpets; but the rigorous ones blame this practice. They mentioned to me an inſtance of a Quaker from Carolina, who, going to dine with one of the moſt opulent at Philadelphia, was offended at finding the paſſage, from the door to the ſtair-caſe covered

vered with a carpet, and would not enter the houſe; he ſaid that he never dined in a houſe where there was luxury; and that it was better to clothe the poor, than to clothe the earth.

If this man juſtly cenſured the prodigality of carpets, how much more ſeverely ought he to cenſure the women of Philadelphia? I ſpeak not here of the Quaker women. But the women of the other ſects, wear hats and caps almoſt as varied as thoſe of Paris. They beſtow immenſe expences on their toilet and head-dreſs, and diſplay pretenſions too affected to be pleaſing.

A very ingenious woman in this town is reproached with having contributed more than all others to introduce this taſte for luxury. I really regret to ſee her huſband, who appears to be well informed, and of an amiable character, affect, in his buildings and furniture, a pomp which ought for ever to have been a ſtranger to Philadelphia; and why? to draw around him the fops and paraſites of Europe. And what does he gain by it? jealouſy; the reproach of his fellow-citizens, and the ridicule of ſtrangers. When a man enjoys pecuniary advantages, and at the ſame time poſſeſſes genius, knowledge, reflection, and the love of doing good, how eaſy is it to make himſelf beloved and eſteemed, by employing his fortune, and perhaps increaſing it, in enterpriſes uſeful to the public!

Notwithſtanding the fatal effects that might be expected here from luxury, we may ſay with truth, that there is no town where morals are more reſpected. Adultery is not known here; there is no inſtance of a wife, of any ſect, who has failed in her duty.

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This, I am told, is owing to what may be called the civil ſtate of women. They marry without dower; they bring to their huſbands only the furniture of their houſes; and they wait the death of their parents, before they come to the poſſeſſion of their property.

I have been informed, however, of a Mrs. Livingſton, daughter of Dr. Shippen, who lives ſeparated from her huſband. This ſeparation was made by mutual agreement. This young woman married Mr. Livingſton only in obedience to the father; obedience of this kind is very rare in this country. The father promiſed to take her again, if ſhe ſhould not be pleaſed with her huſband: ſhe was not pleaſed with him; the father received her, and ſhe lives at preſent virtuous and reſpected.

There is no town on the continent where there is ſo much printing done as at Philadelphia. Gazettes and book-ſtores are numerous in the town, and paper mills in the ſtate.

Among the printers and bookſellers of this town, I remarked Mr. Carey, an Iriſh printer, who unites great induſtry with great information, and publiſhes a monthly collection, called The American Muſeum, which is equal to the beſt periodical publication in Europe. It contains every thing the moſt important that America produces in the arts, in the ſciences, and in politics. The part that concerns agriculture, is attended to with great care.

There are at preſent very few French merchants at Philadelphia. The failure of thoſe who firſt came, diſcouraged others, and has put the Americans on their guard. I have endeavoured to diſcover the cauſe of theſe failures; and have

found that the greater part of these French merchants had either begun with little property, or had made imprudent purchases, or given themselves up to extravagant expences. Most of them were ignorant of the language, customs, and laws of the country; most of them were seduced by the high price which they received for their goods, in paper-money: imagining that this paper would soon rise to par, they amassed as much as possible of it, calculating on enormous profits; and thus fed the hopes of their correspondents in Europe. These hopes were disappointed. Some knowledge of business, of men, of politics, of revolutions, and of the country, would have taught them, that many years must elapse before the public debt could be paid. It became necessary to break the illusion, to sell this paper at a loss, in order to meet their engagements. But they had set up their equipages; they were in the habit of great expences, which they thought it necessary to continue, for fear of losing their credit; for they measured Philadelphia on the scale of Paris. They foolishly imagined, that reasonable and enlightened men would suffer themselves, like slaves, to be duped by the glitter of parade; their profits ceased, their expences multiplied, and the moment of bankruptcy arrived: they must justify themselves in the eyes of their correspondents, and of France: they accused the Americans of dishonesty, of perfidy, and of rascality. These calumniators ought to have accused their own ignorance, their folly, and their extravagant luxury.

Some Frenchmen paraded themselves here publicly with their mistresses, who displayed those light and wanton airs which they had practised at Paris. You may judge of the offence which

this

this indecent ſpectacle would give, in a country where women are ſo reſerved, and where the manners are ſo pure. Contempt was the conſequence; want of credit followed the contempt; and what is a merchant without credit?

Since the peace, the Quakers have returned to their commerce with great activity. The capitals which diffidence had for a long time locked up in their coffers, are now drawn out to give a ſpring to induſtry, and encourage commercial ſpeculations. The Delaware ſees floating the flags of all nations; and enterpriſes are there formed for all parts of the world. Manufactories are riſing in the town and the country; and induſtry and emulation increaſe with great rapidity. Notwithſtanding the aſtoniſhing growth of Baltimore, which has drawn part of the commerce from Philadelphia, yet the energy of the ancient capitals of this town, the univerſal eſtimation in which the Quaker-merchants are held, and the augmentation of agriculture and population, ſupply this deficiency.

You will now be able to judge of the cauſes of the proſperity of this town. Its ſituation on a river navigable for the greateſt ſhips, renders it one of the principal places of foreign commerce, and at the ſame time the great magazine of all the productions of the fertile lands of Pennſylvania, and of thoſe of ſome of the neighbouring ſtates. The vaſt rivers, which by their numerous branches communicate to all parts of the ſtate, give a value to the lands, and attract inhabitants. The climate, leſs cold than that of the northern ſtates, and leſs warm than that of the ſouth, forms another very conſiderable alteration.

But I firmly believe that it is not ſimply to thoſe phyſical advantages that Pennſylvania owes her proſperity. It is to the manners of the inhabitants; it is to the univerſal tolerance which reigned there from the beginning; it is to the ſimplicity, economy, induſtry, and perſeverance of the Quakers, which, centering in two points, agriculture and commerce, have carried them to a greater perfection than they have attained among other ſects. The cabin of a ſimple cultivator gives birth to more children than a gilded palace; and leſs of them periſh in infancy.

And ſince the table of population of a country appears always the moſt exact meaſure of its proſperity, compare, at four different epochs, the number of inhabitants paying capitation in Pennſylvania.

1760	1770	1779	1786
31,667	39,765	45,683	66,925.

Thus it ſeems that population has more than doubled in twenty-five years, notwithſtanding the depopulation of a war of eight years. Obſerve in this ſtating, that the blacks are not included, which form about one-fifth of the population of the ſtate. Obſerve, that by the calculation of the general convention in 1787, the number of whites in this ſtate was carried to three hundred and ſixty thouſand; which ſuppoſes, very nearly, a wife and four children for every taxable head.

The public ſpirit which the Quakers manifeſt in every thing, has given riſe to ſeveral uſeful inſtitutions in Philadelphia, which I have not yet mentioned. One of them is the Diſpenſary, which

which diſtributes medicines gratis to the ſick, who are not in a ſituation to purchaſe them.

See how eaſy and cheap it is to do good. Let thoſe men bluſh, then, who diſſipate their fortunes in luxury and in idleneſs! One thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſeven perſons were treated by this eſtabliſhment during the year 1787. By calculation, this treatment coſt to the eſtabliſhment five ſhillings and nine pence for each patient. Thus, for two hundred pounds ſterling, ſixteen hundred and forty-ſeven perſons are rendered happy.

To this public ſpirit, ſo ingenious in varying its benefits, is owing the Benevolent Inſtitution, whoſe object it is to ſuccour, in their own houſes, poor women in childbed.

Another ſociety has for its object to alleviate the ſituation of priſoners.

The Philadelphians confine not their attention to their brethren; they extend it to ſtrangers; they have formed a ſociety for the aſſiſtance of emigrants who arrive from Germany. A ſimilar one is formed at New-York, called the Hibernian Society, for the ſuccour of emigrants from Ireland. Theſe ſocieties inform themſelves, on the arrival of a ſhip, of the ſituation of the emigrants, and procure them immediate employ.

Here is a company for inſurance againſt fire. The houſes are conſtructed of wood and brick, and conſequently expoſed to the ravages of fire. The inſurers are the inſured, a method which prevents the abuſes to which the company at Paris is expoſed.

In the midſt of all theſe things, which excite my admiration and my tender regard, one trait of injuſtice gives me much pain, becauſe it ſeems

to tarnish the glory of Pennsylvania. Penn left to his family an immense property here. In the last war his descendants took part with the English government, and retired to England. The legislature of Pennsylvania passed a law, taking from them all their lands and their rents, and voted to give them for the whole, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. This sum was to have been paid in paper-money, which suffered then a considerable depreciation. The first instalment only has been paid.

It cannot be denied, that there was a great injustice in the estimation, in the mode of payment, and in the delay. The state of Pennsylvania has too much respect for property, and too much attachment to justice, not to repair its wrongs one day to the family of Penn.

Hitherto I have spoken only of farms already in good culture, and in the neighbourhood of towns. We must now penetrate farther, descend into the midst of the wilderness, and observe the man, detached from society, with his axe in his hand, felling the venerable oak, that had been respected by the savage, and supplying its place with the humble spire of corn. We must follow this man in his progress, observe the changes that his cabin undergoes, when it becomes the centre of twenty other cabins which rise successively round it. An American farmer has communicated to me the principal traits of the rural picture which I am going to lay before you. The first planter, or he who begins a settlement in the woods, is generally a man who has lost his fortune and his credit in the cultivated part of the state. He emigrates in the month of April. His first work is to build a little cabin for himself

and

and family; the roof is of rough hewn wood, the floor of earth. It is lighted by the door, or ſometimes by a little window with oiled paper. A more wretched building, adjoining it, gives ſhelter to a cow and two miſerable horſes. This done, he attacks the trees that ſurround his cabin. To extirpate them by the root, would require too much labour. He contents himſelf by cutting them at two or three feet from the ground. The ſpace thus cleared is then ploughed, and planted with Indian corn. The ſoil, being new, requires little culture; in the month of October it yields a harveſt of forty or fifty buſhels the acre. Even from the month of September, this corn furniſhes a plentiful and agreeable nouriſhment to his family. Hunting aud fiſhing, with a little grain, ſuffice, during the winter, for the ſubſiſtence of his family; while the cow and horſes of our planter feed on the poor wild graſs, or the buds of trees. During the firſt year, he ſuffers much from cold and hunger; but he endures it without repining. Being near the ſavages, he adopts their manners; his fatigue is violent, but it is ſuſpended by long intervals of repoſe: his pleaſures conſiſt in fiſhing and hunting; he loves ſpirituous liquors; he eats, drinks, and ſleeps in the filth of his little cabin.

Thus roll away the firſt three years of our planter in lazineſs, independence, the variation of pleaſure and of labour. But population augments in his neighbourhood, and then his troubles begin. His cattle could before run at large; but now his neighbours force him to retain them within his little farm. Formerly the wild beaſts gave ſubſiſtence to his family; they now fly a country which begins to be peopled by men, and conſequently by enemies.

enemies. An increaſing ſociety brings regulations, taxes, and the parade of laws; and nothing is ſo terrible to our independent planter as all theſe ſhackles. He will not conſent to ſacrifice a ſingle natural right for all the benefits of government; he abandons then his little eſtabliſhment, and goes to ſeek a ſecond retreat in the wilderneſs, where he can recommence his labours, and prepare a farm for cultivation. Such are the charms of independence, that many men have begun the clearing of farms four times in different parts of this ſtate.

The labour beſtowed by the firſt planter gives ſome value to the farm, which now comes to be occupied by a man of the ſecond claſs of planters. He begins by adding to his cabin a houſe. A ſaw-mill, in the neighbouring ſettlement, furniſhes him with boards. His houſe is covered with ſhingles, and is two ſtories high. He makes a little meadow, plants an orchard of two or three hundred apple-trees. His ſtable is enlarged; he builds a ſpacious barn of wood, and covers it with rye-ſtraw. Inſtead of planting only Indian corn, he cultivates wheat and rye; the laſt is deſtined to make whiſky. But this planter manages ill; his fields are badly ploughed, never manured, and give but ſmall crops. His cattle break through his fences, deſtroy his crops, and often cut off the hopes of the year. His horſes are ill fed, and feeble; his cattle often die with hunger in the ſpring; his houſe and his farm give equal proofs of the want of induſtry; the glaſs of his windows has given place to old bats and rags. This man is fond of company; he drinks to exceſs; paſſes much of his time in diſputing about politics. Thus he contracts debts,

and

and is forced, after ſome years, to ſell his plantation to a planter of the third and laſt claſs.

This is ordinarily a man of property, and of a cultivated mind. His firſt object is to convert into meadow all his land, on which he can conduct water. He then builds a barn of ſtone, ſometimes a hundred feet in length, and forty in breadth. This defends his cattle from cold, and they eat leſs when kept warm, than when expoſed to the froſt. To ſpare the conſumption of fuel, he makes uſe of economical ſtoves, and by this he ſaves immenſe labour in cutting and carting wood. He multiplies the objects of culture; beſides corn, wheat, and rye, he cultivates oats and buck-wheat. Near his houſe he forms a garden of one or two acres, which gives him quantities of cabbage, potatoes, and turnips. Near the ſpring which furniſhes him with water, he builds a dairy-houſe. He augments the number, and improves the quality of his fruit-trees. His ſons are always at work by his ſide; his wife and daughter quit their wheels for the labours of the harveſt. The laſt object of induſtry is to build a houſe for his own uſe. This building is generally of ſtone; it is large, well diſtributed, and well furniſhed. His horſes and cattle, by their good appearance, their ſtrength, and fecundity, prove that they are well fed, and well attended. His table abounds with delicate and various diſhes. The ordinary drink of his family, is beer, cider, and wine; his wife and daughters manufacture their clothing. In proportion as he grows rich, he perceives the value of the protection of the laws; he pays his taxes with punctuality; he contributes to the ſupport of churches

churches and ſchools, as the only means of enſuring order and tranquillity.

Two-thirds of the farmers of Pennſylvania belong to this third claſs. It is to them that the ſtate owes its ancient reputation and importance. If they have leſs of cunning than their neighbours of the ſouth, who cultivate their lands by ſlaves, they have more of the republican virtues. It was from their farms that the American and French armies were principally ſupplied during the laſt war; it was from their produce that came thoſe millions of dollars brought from the Havanna after the year 1780—millions which laid the foundation of the bank of North-America, and ſupported the American army till the peace.

This is a feeble ſketch of the happineſs of a Pennſylvania farmer; a happineſs to which this ſtate calls men of all countries and of all religions. It offers not the pleaſures of the Arcadia of the poets, or thoſe of the great towns of Europe; but it promiſes you independence, plenty, and happineſs—in return for patience, induſtry, and labour. The moderate price of lands, the credit that may be obtained, and the perfect ſecurity that the courts of juſtice give to every ſpecies of property, place theſe advantages within the reach of every condition of men.

I do not pretend here to give the hiſtory of all the ſettlements of Pennſylvania. It often happens, that the ſame man, or the ſame family, holds the place of the firſt and ſecond, and ſometimes of the third claſs of planters above deſcribed. In the counties near Philadelphia, you ſee vaſt houſes of brick, and farms well cultivated, in the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants, in the ſecond

or

or third degree, of the companions of William Penn.

This paſſion for emigration, of which I have ſpoken, will appear to you unaccountable:—that a man ſhould voluntarily abandon the country that gave him birth, the church where he was conſecrated to God, the tombs of his anceſtors, the companions and friends of his youth, and all the pleaſures of poliſhed ſociety—to expoſe himſelf to the dangers and difficulties of conquering ſavage nature, is, in the eyes of an European philoſopher, a phenomenon which contradicts the ordinary progreſs and principles of the actions of men. But ſuch is the fact; and this paſſion contributes to increaſe the population of America, not only in the new ſettlements, but in the old ſtates; for, when the number of farmers is augmented in any canton beyond the number of convenient farms, the population languiſhes, the price of land riſes to ſuch a degree as to diminiſh the profits of agriculture, encourage idleneſs, or turn the attention to leſs honourable purſuits. The beſt preventative of theſe evils, is the emigration of part of the inhabitants. This part generally conſiſts of the moſt idle and diſſipated, who neceſſarily become induſtrious in their new ſettlement; while the departure augments the means of ſubſiſtence and population to thoſe left behind; as pruning increaſes the ſize of the tree, and the quantity of its fruit.

The third claſs of cultivators which I have deſcribed, is chiefly compoſed of Germans. They make a great part of the population of Pennſylvania. It is more than a century ſince the firſt Germans were eſtabliſhed here. They are regarded as the moſt honeſt, the moſt induſtrious

and economical of the farmers. They never contract debts; they are, of all the Americans, the leaſt attached to the uſe of rum and other ardent ſpirits. Thus their families are the moſt numerous. It is very common to ſee them have twelve or fourteen children *. It is ſaid, they have not ſo much information as the other Americans; but yet you find many men reſpectable for their knowledge and underſtanding among them, ſuch as Rittenhouſe, Kuhn, Mulhenberg, &c.

A principal cauſe of emigration in the back parts of Pennſylvania, is the hope of eſcaping taxes; yet the land-tax is very light, as it does not exceed a penny in the pound of the eſtimation; and the eſtimation is much under the value of the lands.

There is much irregularity in the land-tax, as likewiſe in the capitation, or poll-tax; but I ſee with pleaſure, that bachelors pay more than married men.

I have already ſpoken of the climate of this happy town. The reſpectable Dr. Ruſh has communicated to me ſome new and curious details, which I will communicate.

This enlightened obſerver, in one energetic phraſe, has pictured to me the variations incident to Philadelphia. We have, ſaid he, the humidity of Great Britain in the ſpring, the heat of Africa in ſummer, the temperance of Italy in June, the ſky of Egypt in autumn, the ſnows of Norway and the ice of Holland during the winter; the tempeſts, to a certain degree, of the Weſt Indies in each ſeaſon, and the variable winds of Great Britain in every month of the year.

* According to M. Moheau, one family in 25,000 in France has thirteen children; two have twelve.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding all theſe changes, the doctor thinks, that the climate of Philadelphia is one of the moſt healthful in the world.

In dry weather, the air has a peculiar elaſticity, which renders heat or cold leſs inſupportable than they are in places more humid. The air never becomes heavy and fatiguing, but when the rains are not followed by the beneficent north-weſt. During the three weeks that I paſſed here (in Auguſt and September) I felt nothing of the languor of body, and depreſſion of ſpirits, which I expected: though the heat was very great, I found it ſupportable; nearly like that of Paris, but it cauſed a greater perſpiration.

Dr. Ruſh has obſerved, as have many phyſicians of Europe, that the ſtate of mind influences much on the health. He cited to me two ſtriking examples of it. The Engliſh ſeamen wounded in the famous naval battle of the 12th of April 1782, were cured with the greateſt facility. The joy of victory gave to their bodies the force of health. He had made the ſame obſervations on the American ſoldiers wounded at the battle of Trenton.

Variability is the characteriſtic of the climate of Pennſylvania. It has changed by the clearing of lands, and the diminution of waters, which formerly abounded in this part of America. Many creeks, and even rivers, have diſappeared by degrees; and this is to be expected in a country where foreſts give place to cultivated fields.

Theſe changes have produced happy effects on the health of the people. An old man of this country has obſerved to me, that the health of the Pennſylvanians augments in proportion to the cultivation of the country; that their viſages are leſs pale than they were thirty or forty years paſt; that for ſome time the number of centenaries has

increaſed, and that the ſeptuagenaries are very numerous.

In 1782, there was ſuch an extraordinary drought, that the Indian corn did not come to perfection, the meadows failed, and the ſoil became ſo inflammable, that in ſome places it caught fire, and the ſurface was burnt. This year it has been exceſſively rainy. On the 18th and 19th of Auguſt, there fell at Philadelphia ſeven inches of water. Wheat has ſuffered much this year from the rains.

Happily all parts of the country are not ſubject to the ſame variations of the atmoſphere; ſo that a general ſcarcity is never known. If the harveſt fails here, at fifty miles diſtance it abounds. You ſee that the heat here is about the ſame as at Paris; and that it is never ſo great as at Rome, ſince at the latter place the thermometer of Reaumur riſes to 30 deg. You ſee, that the winter here is not much colder than at Paris, as it rarely deſcends more than to 12 deg. below the freezing point. There falls much more rain here than at Paris. The common quantity there is twenty inches in the year, and it has not been known but once in ſixty years to riſe to twenty-five, while the common quantity at Philadelphia is thirty-five inches. By comparing the climate of Philadelphia with that of Pekin, nearly in the ſame latitude, you will find, from the tables of Kirwan, that the winters are much colder, and the ſummers much warmer, in that part of China, than at Philadelphia. Dr. Ruſh attributes the difference to this circumſtance, that Pennſylvania is bordered with a vaſt extent of foreſt, and that the country about Pekin is generally and highly cultivated.

My friend Myers Fiſher, who endeavours to explain the characters of men from the phyſical cir-

circumſtances that ſurround them, has communicated to me an obſervation which he has made in that reſpect; it is, that the activity of the inhabitants of a country may be meaſured by the rapidity of its rivers, and the variations in its atmoſphere.

He could ſee the dulneſs and indeciſion of the Virginians in the ſlow movement of the Potowmac; while the rapid current of the rivers of the north painted to him the activity of the people of New-England.

He told me, likewiſe, that the health of the people might very well conſiſt with the variations of the air, provided that wiſe precautions were taken. This, as he aſſured me, was a part of the diſcipline of the Quakers. Thus, according to him, you may meaſure the longevity of the people of Pennſylvania by the ſect to which they belong. That of the Quakers ought to be placed at the head of this table of longevity; that of the Moravians next; the Preſbyterians next, &c.

Dr. Ruſh whoſe obſervations in this reſpect are numerous, has told me, that ſudden variations cauſed more diſeaſes and deaths than either heat or cold conſtantly exceſſive. He inſtanced the vigorous winter of 1780, the burning ſummer of 1782, and the rainy ſummer of 1788. There were then few or no diſeaſes; and thoſe that happened were occaſioned by imprudence, ſuch as cold water drunk in heat, or ſpirituous liquors in cold. Pleuriſies and inflammatory diſorders are much diminiſhed within fifty years. The months of May and June are conſidered as the moſt ſalubrious, and the valetudinarians are obſerved to be better in ſummer and in winter.

Among the diſeaſes of the United States, the conſumption doubtleſs makes the greateſt ra-

vages. It was unknown to the original inhabitants of the country; it is then the result of European habits of life tranſported to this new continent. It is more common in the towns than in the country; it deſtroys more women than men; it is a languid diſorder, which drags, by ſlow ſteps, its victim to the tomb: each day plunges the dagger deeper in his breaſt, and renders more viſible the incurable wound. Death, without ceaſing, ſtares him in the face, and throws a funeral ſhroud over the remainder of his days. The world and its pleaſures diſappear; the ties of friendſhip are the only ones that are ſtrengthened and endeared, and which double the bitterneſs of his approaching diſſolution. The conſumption, in a word, is a long-continued agony, a ſlow tormenting death.

The phyſicians of this country attribute it to different cauſes; to the exceſſive uſe of hot drinks, ſuch as tea and coffee; to the habit of remaining too long in bed, and the uſe of featherbeds, for they know not the uſe of matreſſes; to the cuſtom of eating too much meat, and of drinking too much ſpirituous liquors. Women are more ſubject to it than men; becauſe, independently of the above cauſes, they take but little exerciſe, which is the only powerful remedy againſt the ſtagnation of humours, the great principle of the maraſma: they taſte but little the pleaſures of walking; a movement which, varying the ſpectacle of nature, gives a refreſhment to the ſenſes, a new ſpring to the blood, and a new vigour to the ſoul.

A particular cauſe of conſumptions amongſt the Quaker women is doubtleſs the habit of gravity and immobility which they contract in early life,

life, and which they preſerve for hours together in their ſilent meetings. The women of the other ſects are equally attacked by conſumptions, but it is attributed to different cauſes: they are fond of exceſſive dancing; heated with this, they drink cold water, eat cold unripe fruits, drink boiling tea, go thinly clad in winter, and give no attention to the ſudden changes of weather. The Quakers are more reaſonable in theſe reſpects; but they balance theſe advantages by a fatal neglect of exerciſe. To preſerve good health, a female ſhould have the gaiety of a woman of faſhion, with the prudence and precaution of a Quaker.

A moral or political cauſe may likewiſe aid us in explaining why women are more ſubject to conſumptions than men. It is the want of a will, or a civil exiſtence. The ſubmiſſion to which women are habituated, has the effect of chains, which compreſs the limbs, cauſe obſtructions, deaden the vital principle, and impede the circulation. The depreſſion of the mind has a tendency to enfeeble the body. This ſubmiſſion to fathers and huſbands is more remarkable among the Quakers, than among the other ſects.

Conſumptions, however, are not ſo numerous in America as is generally imagined. This name is ignorantly given to many other diſorders, which reduce the body to the ſame meagre ſtate which follows a decay of the lungs. This appearance deceives, and may eaſily deceive the attendants of the ſick, who give information to thoſe who keep the bills of mortality.

Another diſeaſe, very common here, is the ſore-throat; when putrid, it is mortal. It generally

proceeds from exceſſive heats, cold drinks, and careleſſneſs in clothing.

When we reflect that Europe was formerly ſubject to theſe epidemical diſeaſes, and that they have diſappeared in proportion to the progreſs of cultivation, we are tempted to believe that they belong to new countries in the infancy of cultivation.

The diſeaſe known in Europe by the name of influenza, is likewiſe common in America: it made great ravages in 1789. It began in Canada, paſſed through New-York, and very ſoon infected Pennſylvania and the Southern States. Its ſymptoms are laſſitude, feebleneſs, chills, heats, and the head-ache. It reſpects no age or ſex, and eſpecially precipitates to the tomb thoſe who were attacked by the conſumption.

The fever and ague may be ranked in the claſs of theſe cruel epidemics; but it is more terrible, as its returns are annual. It not only viſits the marſhy countries and the ſea-coaſt, but it is ſeen even in the healthy region of Albany. It is combated by the Peruvian bark; but the moſt ſucceſsful remedy is a journey among the mountains, or into the Northern States. This fever, more humane than men, ſubjects not to its empire the black ſlaves. This exemption is attributed to a cuſtom they preſerve with obſtinacy, of keeping fires always in their cabins, even in the hotteſt ſeaſon. The negroes are accuſtomed to conſider exceſſive heat as a guarantee of health; and you will ſee a negreſs, while ſhe labours in the field, in the ardour of a burning ſun, expoſe her infant to its fires, rather than lay it under the refreſhing ſhade of a tree. This negreſs has not heard of the curious

rious experiments of Dr. Ingenhouſe on the fatal effects of ſhades and the night air, but you ſee that ſhe knows their effects.

Among the maladies common in the United States, muſt be reckoned the pleuriſy and the peripneumony, though they are leſs frequent than formerly. The ſmall-pox, which formerly made ſuch havock in the United States, is leſs formidable ſince the general practice of inoculation.

There are many phyſicians at Philadelphia, and you will perhaps aſſign this as the cauſe of ſo many diſeaſes. You will be wrong. They are ſaid to be ſkilful; they are generally ſtrangers to quackery. I know ſome of them who are highly reſpectable, as well for their virtues, as for their knowledge; ſuch as Ruſh, Griffiths, Wiſneer; the two laſt are Quakers.

The greateſt part of theſe phyſicians are, at the ſame time, apothecaries. They continue to unite theſe two ſciences, out of reſpect to the people, who wiſh that the man who orders the medicine ſhould likewiſe prepare it. There are, however, other apothecaries, of whom the phyſicians purchaſe their drugs.

The practice of this country is the Engliſh practice; that is, they are much in the uſe of ſtrong remedies Laxatives are little in uſe. Almoſt all the phyſicians of this country are formed at the ſchool of Edinburgh, and this is the cauſe of their predilection for the Engliſh practice.

Perhaps, after the account that I have given of the maladies which afflict America, it may be thought that human life is ſhorter here than in Europe. It is a prejudice; and it has been accredited by many writers, and by ſome even who

have

have travelled in America, it becomes a duty to deſtroy it.

The Abbe Robin, one of theſe travellers, has declared that, after the age of twenty-five, the American women appear old; that children die here in greater proportion than in Europe; that there are very few old people, &c. &c. M. Paw, I believe, had uttered theſe fables before him. Nothing is more falſe. I have obſerved with care the women between thirty and fifty years of age: they have generally a good appearance, good health, and are even agreeable. I have ſeen them at fifty, with ſuch an air of freſhneſs, that they would not have been taken by an European for more than forty. I have ſeen women of ſixty and ſeventy, ſparkling with health. I ſpeak here eſpecially of the women of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, and Connecticut.

In Pennſylvania you do not ſee the ſame tints adorn the intereſting viſages of the daughters and wives of the Quakers; they are generally pale.

I have paid attention to their teeth. I have ſeen of them that are fine; and where they are otherwiſe, it is, as in England, more owing to hot drinks than to the climate.

Not only the number of aged perſons are more conſiderable here than in Europe, as I am going to prove to you, but they preſerve generally their faculties, intellectual and phyſical.

I was told of a miniſter at Ipſwich in Maſſachuſetts, who preached very well at ninety years of age; another, of the ſame age, walked on foot to church on Sunday twenty miles. A Mr. Temple died at the age of a hundred in 1765, and left

four

four daughters and four ſons, of the following ages, 86—85—83—81—79—77—75—73.

But I will not confine myſelf to ſuch light obſervations. I will exhibit ſome tables of mortality, and of the probabilities of life, in this country. This is the only method of conveying to you certain information.

The general cauſes of longevity are,

1. The ſalubrity of the atmoſphere and of the country.

2. The abundance and goodneſs of the aliments.

3. A life regular, active, and happy.

We muſt, then, conſider the exterior circumſtances as relative to the occupations of men, to their morals, to their religion, and their government.

Wherever property is centered in a few hands, where employment is precarious and dependent, life is not ſo long; it is cut off by grief and care, which abridge more the principle of life than even want itſelf. Wherever the government is arbitrary, and tyranny deſcends in diviſions from rank to rank, and falls heavy on the lower claſſes, life muſt be ſhort among the people, becauſe they are ſlaves; and a miſerable ſlave, trampled on at every moment, can enjoy neither that eaſe, nor that regularity, nor that interior ſatisfaction, which ſuſtains the principles of life. The exceſſes and mortifications attending on ambition, abridge, in an equal degree, the life of the claſs which tyrannizes.

On applying theſe moral and political conſiderations to the United States, you may conclude, that there can be no country where the life of man is of longer duration; for, to all the advan-

tages

tages of nature, they unite that of liberty, which is the principle of health.

It is difficult here to obtain regular tables of births and deaths. There are ſome ſects who do not baptize their children, and whoſe regiſters are not carefully kept; others who baptize only their adults. Some of the ſick have no phyſicians or ſurgeons, and their attendants who give the information are not exact. The conſtant fluctuations occaſioned by emigrations, and immigrations, ſtill increaſe the difficulty. Yet we may approach near the truth, by taking for examples ſuch ſeaports as are more occupied in the coaſting trade than in long voyages; it is for this reaſon that I have choſen the towns of Salem and Ipſwich in Maſſachuſetts. I take theſe tables from the Memoirs of the Academy of Boſton—memoirs little known in France.

Dr. Halley, for the ſtandard of his tables of mortality, choſe Breſlaw in Germany, on account of its interior ſituation and the regular employment of its inhabitants. By the calculations of theſe political arithmeticians, five perſons in twelve die at Breſlaw, before the age of five years.

At Ipſwich, a village at the northward of Boſton, ſix only in thirty-three die within that age. At Breſlaw, one in thirty attains the age of eighty years; at Ipſwich, one in eight. This diſproportion is enormous; and this longevity is found in many other parts of Maſſachuſetts and New Hampſhire.

At Woodſtock, in Connecticut, one hundred and thirteen perſons have died in eleven years; of theſe twenty-one were ſeventy years old and upwards, and thirteen were eighty and upwards.

This

To face p. 279.

Ages.	NEW ENGLAND. Graduates of Harvard College.	Hingham, in Massachusetts.	Dover, in New Hampshire.	ANY. London, Simpson's Tables.		HOL-LAND Brandenburg.	FRANC Kersboom's Tables of Annuitants.	M. De Parcieux's Table of Annuitants.
25	36.07	35.46	37.89	26.1	31.	31.76	33 27	37.01
30	33.40	33.81	34.97	23.6	28.	28.70	30.92	33.96
35	30.70	30.83	31.89	21.5	26.	25.56	28.36	30 73
40	26.45	28.28	28.74	19.6	23.	22.65	25.49	27.30
45	22.9	25.11	25.80	17.8	20.	19.65	22.34	23.77
50	19.86	22.08	22.79	16.0	17.	16.55	19.41	20.24
55	17.75	18.47	19.22	14.2	14.	13.68	16.72	16.88
60	14.63	15.20	15.49	12.4	12.	11.28	14.10	13.86
65	11.31	12.29	12.98	10.5	10.	9 15	11.56	11.07
70	10.01	9.68	10.46	8.8	8.	7.48	9.15	8.34
75	8.39	7.63	8.40	7.2	6.	6.17	6.81	5.79
80	6.96	6.03	6.87	5.0	5.	5.06	5.05	4.73
85	3.06	5.02	4.96		3.	4.18	3.38	3.45

The first column gives the ages; e probabilities of life
among the inhabitants of the differ of Harvard College, at
Cambridge, near Boston: Hingham, the fourth, is in New
Hampshire. The other columns are

This gives ſomething more than the proportion of an octogenary in nine. Theſe facts are taken from authentic regiſters.

The miniſter of Andover in New Hampſhire, a reſpectable and well-informed man, has aſſured me, that more than one in eight males and females in his neighbourhood, paſs the age of ſeventy years; and that this obſervation is the reſult of long experience in that and the neighbouring pariſhes.

Compare theſe facts with thoſe ſtated by M. Moheau*. He ſays, that in the iſland of Oleron, of fourteen thouſand inhabitants, there are but five or ſix octogenaries, and but one for forty-two in the liſt of deaths in the Iſle of Rhe, which is reckoned remarkably healthful.

The miniſter of Andover made to me another obſervation, which tends to confirm an opinion advanced by an author whoſe name I forget—It is, that men of letters enjoy the greateſt longevity. He told me that the oldeſt men were generally found among the miniſters. This fact will explain ſome of the cauſes of longevity; ſuch as regularity of morals, information, independence of ſpirit, and eaſy circumſtances.

But you will be better able to judge of the longevity in the United States, by the table of the probabilities of life given to me by the reſpectable Dr. Wigleſworth, of the univerſity of Cambridge. It contains a compariſon of theſe probabilities in New England, in England, in Sweden, in Germany, in Holland, and in France.

* See *Recherches et Conſiderations ſur la Population de la France*, page 192.

This

This comparative table will fix your ideas on the ſubject of longevity on the United States. And it is to be hoped that from the care of Dr. Wigleſworth of the academy of Boſton, and that of the members of the other academies in the ſeveral ſtates, we may ſoon have regular and complete tables for the thirteen ſtates.

To ſatisfy your curioſity more completely, I will now give you a liſt of births, marriages, and deaths, in a particular town; from which may be ſeen the proportion between the births and deaths, and the ages of the diſeaſed. I will take Salem, which is conſidered as a very unhealthful town. It is a ſea-port, in the 42 deg. of latitude, five leagues north-eaſt of Boſton, ſituated between two rivers, on a flat piece of land, elevated but twenty feet above the level of the ſea at high water: two little hills in the neighbourhood; ſoil light, dry, and ſandy, without marſhes; the inhabitants not ſubject to epidemical diſeaſes. They complain at preſent of ſome nervous and hyſterical diſorders, which were formerly unknown to them.

Mr. Holyoke ſent to the academy of Boſton the two following tables for this town of Salem.

TABLE FOR 1781.

Deaths,	175
Births,	317
Baptiſms,	152
Marriages,	70
Taxable polls; that is, males above the age of ſixteen, and reſiding in the town,	897
Tranſient perſons,	200

AGES

AGES OF THE DECEASED.

In being born,	6
Within the firſt month,	6
Between one month and one year,	30
——— one and two years,	20
——— two and five,	2
——— five and ten,	7
——— ten and fifteen,	3
——— fifteen and twenty,	6
——— twenty and twenty-five	5
——— twenty-five and thirty	7
——— thirty and forty,	24
——— forty and fifty,	10
——— fifty and ſixty,	7
——— ſixty and ſeventy,	2
——— ſeventy and eighty,	7
——— eighty and ninety,	6
Ages unknown,	27

TABLE FOR 1782.

Deaths,	189
Births, about	385
Baptiſms,	158
Marriages, about	84
Taxable polls,	1000
Number of inhabitants, about	9000

AGES OF THE DECEASED.

In being born,	14
In the firſt month,	11
Between one month and one year,	27
——— one and two years,	29
——— two and five,	28

Between five and ten, ...	12
——— ten and fifteen, ...	5
——— fifteen and twenty, ...	2
——— twenty and twenty-five, .	8
——— twenty-five and thirty, ..	8
——— thirty and forty, ...	9
——— forty and fifty, ...	8
——— fifty and ſixty, ...	7
——— ſixty and ſeventy, ...	6
——— ſeventy and eighty, ...	6
——— eighty and ninety, ...	2
Ages unknown, ...	9

You will recollect that Salem is one of the moſt unhealthful towns in America. You do not find in the above two liſts the proportion of great ages that I have mentioned in other places.

The year 1781 gives 175 deaths. If you look for the population of Salem by the general rule of thirty living for one dead, the number of inhabitants would appear to be 5250—whereas it was 9000. You muſt then count for Salem fifty living for one deceaſed. In London there dies one for twenty-three; and in the country in England, one in forty; in Paris, one in thirty; in the country, one in twenty-four.

In 1781, at Salem, the births are as one to twenty-ſeven of the inhabitants. In common years in France it is as one to twenty-ſix.

As to marriages, M. Moheau reckons for the country in France one for 121, and for Paris one for 160. In Salem, you muſt count, for 1781, only one for 128. But this is far from being the proportion for the country in America. We have no exact table for this purpoſe. We muſt wait.

I can-

I cannot terminate this long article on longevity without giving the table of births and deaths in the Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia for fourteen years, from 1774 to 1788. The proportion is curious.

			Births.	Deaths.
From 1774	to	1775	379	156
1775	—	1776	338	175
1776	—	1777	389	124
1777	—	1778	298	169
1778	—	1779	303	178
1779	—	1780	348	186
1780	—	1781	320	158
1781	—	1782	323	162
1782	—	1783	398	219
1783	—	1784	389	215
1784	—	1785	426	153
1785	—	1786	420	157
1786	—	1787	419	150
1787	—	1788	425	178
			5175	2380

You will obſerve, that in years of the war the births were leſs numerous. This is a natural reflection, which ought always to be made by any one who makes calculations on the population of America. On the whole, however, the number of inhabitants is increaſing in an amazing proportion.

Since great numbers of foreign adventurers have overſpread the country, eſpecially ſince the laſt war, which has augmented their number, reduced many to miſery, and habituated others to

crimes, it has been neceſſary to reſtrain them by priſons, though I love to indulge the belief, that this was once unneceſſary. One fact does honour to this ſtate; which is, that among the priſoners of Philadelphia, not one in ten is a native of the country. During my ſtay in this town, one robbery only was committed; and this was by a French ſailor.

Almoſt all the other priſoners are either Iriſhmen or Frenchmen.

This priſon is a kind of houſe of correction. The priſoners are obliged to work; and each enjoys the profit of his own labour. This is the beſt method of ameliorating men; and it is a method uſed by the Quakers.

Thoſe who govern the houſe of correction in New-York, on conſenting to take charge of criminals condemned by the law, have obtained leave to ſubſtitute to whips and mutilation their humane method of correction; and they daily ſucceed in leading back to induſtry and reaſon theſe deluded men.

One of theſe Quakers was aſked, by what means it was poſſible to correct men who diſhonour human nature, and who will not work. "We have two powerful inſtruments," replied the Quaker, "hunger and hope."

By the ſmall number of Pennſylvanians contained in the priſon of Philadelphia, we may conclude, that were it not for the ſtrangers, the government of this town, like that of Nantucket, might have a priſon with open doors, of which honour and repentance are the only keepers.

But, after all, what is the uſe of priſons? The Indians have them not; and they are not the

worſe

worſe for it *. If there exiſts a country where it is poſſible, and where it is a duty to change this ſyſtem, it is America; it is therefore to the Americans that I addreſs the following reflections:

Priſons are fatal to the health, liberty, and morals of men. To preſerve health, a man has need of a pure air, frequent exerciſe, and wholeſome food. In a priſon, the air is infected, there is no ſpace for exerciſe, and the food is often deteſtable.

A man is not in health, but when he is with beings who love him, and by whom he is beloved. In priſon he is with ſtrangers and with criminals. There can exiſt no ſociety between them; or, if there does, he muſt either be obliged to ſtruggle without ceaſing againſt the horrid principles of theſe wicked men, which is a torment to him; or he adopts their principles, and becomes like them. A man, by living conſtantly with fools, becomes a fool himſelf; every thing in life is contagion and correſpondence.

By impriſonment, you ſnatch a man from his wife, his children, his friends; you deprive him of their ſuccour and conſolation; you plunge him into grief and mortification; you cut him off from all thoſe connectionss which render his exiſtence of any importance. He is like a plant torn up by the roots and ſevered from its nouriſhing ſoil; and how will you expect it to exiſt?

The man who has for a long time vegetated in a priſon, who has experienced frequent convulſions of rage and deſpair, is no longer the ſame

* No parallel can be drawn between ſavages and civilized nations. The former have little private property, and neither laws nor priſons are much wanted where this is wanting.

being, on quitting this abode, that he was when he entered it. He returns to his family, from whom he has been long ſequeſtered; he no more meets from them, or experiences in himſelf, the ſame attachment and the ſame tenderneſs.

In putting a man in priſon, you ſubject him to the power of the gaoler, or the turn-key, and of the commiſſary of the priſon. Before theſe men he is obliged to abaſe himſelf, to diſguiſe his ſenſations, to conſtrain his paſſions, in order that his miſery may not be increaſed. This ſtate of humiliation and conſtraint is horrible to him; and beſides, it renders his maſters imperious, unjuſt, vexatious, and wicked.

To oblige a free man to uſe ſupplication to obtain juſtice, is to do him a laſting injury. The tree that is once bent from its natural form never acquires it again.

The laws which ordained the *habeas corpus* are wiſe and natural. But they do not ordain it in all caſes. A priſoner for debt, who cannot obtain ſecurity, muſt remain a priſoner. A man accuſed of a capital offence, who will be probably acquitted on trial, cannot enjoy the benefit of this law. Theſe are abuſes.

Is it not much more ſimple to imitate the Indians, to grant every man the privilege of his own houſe for a priſon, though you are obliged to put a ſentinel at his door? And for thoſe that have no houſe of their own, eſtabliſh a public houſe, where they can purſue their occupations.

If ſuch regulations are neceſſary for any ſociety, it is ſurely for one which has good morals, and wiſhes to preſerve them; if they are any where practicable, it is among a people where great crimes are rare.

I am

I am ſurpriſed then, that the penalty of death is not totally aboliſhed in this country. Manners, here are ſo pure, the means of living ſo abundant, and miſery ſo rare, that there can be no need of ſuch horrid pains to prevent the commiſſion of crimes.

Dr. Ruſh has juſt given force to all theſe arguments in favour of the abolition of the puniſhment of death. He has not yet ſucceeded; but it is to be hoped that the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and even all the ſtates, will ſoon dare to give to Europe a great example of juſtice, humanity and policy. Any objections that may be made againſt this reform in Europe will not apply in this country.

Our author appears to have entertained the moſt favourable opinion of the Quakers. Simplicity, candour, and good faith, ſays he, characterize the actions, as well as the diſcourſes of the Quakers. They are not affected, but they are ſincere; they are not poliſhed, but they are humane; they have not that wit, that ſparkling wit, without which a man is nothing in France, and with which he is every thing; but they have good ſenſe, a ſound judgment, an upright heart, and an obliging temper of mind. If I wiſhed to live in ſociety, it would be with the Quakers: if I wiſhed to amuſe myſelf, it would be with my countrymen. Their women are what they ſhould be, faithful to their huſbands, tender to their children, vigilant and economical in their houſehold, and ſimple in their ornaments. Their principal characteriſtic is, that they are not eager to pleaſe all the world: neglectful of the exterior, they reſerve all their accompliſhments for the mind. Let us ſay it, let us not ceaſe to repeat it, it is among manners like theſe that we are to look for good houſeholds, happy families, and

public

public virtues. But, we miſerable wretches! gangrened with our own civilization and politeneſs, we have abjured theſe manners. And who among us is happy? unleſs you can find a man who has the courage to content himſelf with a life of nature, and to live like people of former ages. "If you conform to nature," ſays Seneca, "you will never be poor; if to opinion, you will never be rich."

Simplicity is a favourite virtue with the Quakers; and the men ſtill follow, with ſome exactneſs, the counſel of Penn: "Let thy garments be plain and ſimple; attend to convenience and decency, but not to vanity. If thou art clean and warm, thy end is accompliſhed; to do more, is to rob the poor."

The white hat, which they prefer, has become more common here, ſince Franklin has proved the advantages which it poſſeſſes, and the inconveniences of the black.

The Quakers in the country generally wear cloth made in their own houſes. And at their general meeting here, in September this year, which conſiſted of more than fifteen hundred, nine-tenths of the number were clothed in American cloth.

There are ſome Quakers who dreſs more like other ſects; who wear powder, ſilver buckles, and ruffles. They are called *wet Quakers*. The others regard them as a kind of ſchiſmatics, or feeble men. They are admitted, indeed, into their churches on Sunday, but never to their monthly or quarterly meetings.

They put on woollen ſtockings the 15th of September; it is an article of their diſcipline, which extends to their clothing; and to this is to be

be attributed their remarkable longevity. Among the few companions of William Penn in 1693, fix are now alive; Edward Drinker, born in 1680, has been dead but two years. It is from the intimate conviction of the advantages of their maxims, that they perſevere in them with ſingular conſtancy. Their ſingularities are the effect of reaſon and long experience.

The Quaker women dreſs more comfortably than thoſe of the other ſects; and this renders them leſs ſubject to ſickneſs. Age and fortune, however, cauſe much greater diſtinctions in their dreſs than in that of the men. The matrons wear the graveſt colours, little black bonnets, and the hair ſimply turned back. The young women curl their hair with great care and anxiety; which coſts them as much time as the moſt exquiſite toilette. They wear little hats covered with ſilk or ſatin. Theſe obſervations gave me pain. Theſe young Quakereſſes, whom nature has ſo well endowed, whoſe charms have ſo little need of the borrowed hand of art, are remarkable for their choice of the fineſt linens, muſlins, and ſilks. Elegant fans play between their fingers. Oriental luxury itſelf would not diſdain the linen they wear. Is this agreeable to the doctrine of Penn? "Modeſty and mildneſs," ſays he, "are the richeſt and fineſt ornaments of the ſoul. The more ſimple the dreſs, the more will beauty and theſe qualities appear."

Luxury begins where utility ends. When diſplayed in ſimple things, it announces more vanity than when diſplayed in an ordinary manner; for it ſeems to be conſidered as the meaſure of wealth, of which they affect to deſpiſe the oſtentation. Indeed, it announces a mind not truly penetrated

with

with the great principles of morality—a mind that places its happineſs, not in virtue, but in appearance.

Happily, the luxury of dreſs and furniture has not yet found its way to the tables of the Quakers. Their dinners are ſolid, ſimple, and elegant, enlivened by ſerene and ſenſible converſation, and endeared by hoſpitality. They drink beer, Philadelphia porter, cider, and finiſh with a glaſs of wine. None of thoſe fatiguing toaſts, which are rather provocatives to intoxication than accents of patriotiſm.

Thoſe who reproach the Quakers with ſadneſs and moroſeneſs, are unacquainted with their true character, and have never lived with them. I, who have been received by them as a child, and domeſticated as a friend, judge them very differently. I have found among them moments of gaiety, of effuſions of the heart, of ſprightly and agreeable converſation. They are not buffoons, but they are ſerene; they are happy, and, if gaiety conſiſts in the expreſſion of heart-felt happineſs, they are gay.

We Frenchmen have the reputation of being gay, of laughing at every thing, of balancing a misfortune by a pun. This is a folly. To laugh is the ſign of gaiety, and gaiety is the ſign of agreeable ſenſations. To be gay, therefore, in the depth of miſery is a falſehood or a folly; to be ſerene and unmoved, is wiſdom. We ought not to be depreſſed by misfortunes; neither ought we to laugh at them: the one is a weakneſs of mind, the other is madneſs or ſtupidity.

The calmneſs which characterizes the Quakers in their joy, accompanies them likewiſe in their grief, in their diſcuſſions, and in all their affairs.

They

They owe it to their education; they are early taught to curb their paſſions, eſpecially that of anger; to render themſelves, as they call it, *immoveable;* that is, inacceſſible to ſudden emotions: it reſults from this, that on all occaſions, they preſerve an empire over themſelves; and this gives them a great advantage in diſcuſſion over thoſe who do not preſerve the ſame temper. "The greateſt ſervice," ſays Penn, "that thou canſt render to reaſon, is to clothe her in calmneſs; and he that defends truth with too much heat, does her more injury than her adverſaries themſelves."

The Quakers carry to the borders of the tomb this ſame tranquillity of mind; and it even forſakes not the women at this diſtreſſing moment. This is the fruit of their religious principles, and of a regular, virtuous life. They conſider heaven as their country: and they cannot conceive why death, which conducts to it, ſhould be a misfortune.

This habitual ſerenity does not diminiſh their ſenſibility. The reſpectable Pemberton recounted to me the death of a beloved daughter, which happened the day before. I could ſee the tear ſteal down his cheek, which a moment's reflection cauſed to diſappear. He loved to ſpeak to me of her virtues and her reſignation during her long agony. "She was an angel," ſays he, "and ſhe is now in her place."

This good father did not exaggerate. You will find in this ſociety, many of theſe celeſtial images, clothed in ſerenity, the ſymbol of eternal peace and conſcious virtue.

I cannot explain to you the fact; but it is true, that I feel an expanſion of ſoul in their ſociety.

I meet

I meet a man of a pure mind,—I am at once at my eaſe,—we are like intimate and old acquaintance,—we underſtand each other without ſpeaking. A corrupted man, a ſharper, a man of the world, produces on me a contrary impreſſion. My ſoul contracts and recoils upon itſelf, like the ſenſitive plant.

The portrait which I have given of the Quakers, is not only the reſult of my own obſervations, but what has been told me by enlightened men of the other ſects.

I aſked one day, in company, the following queſtion: "Is there a greater purity of morals, more ſimplicity, more integrity, more honeſty among the Quakers, than any other ſects?" A man, diſtinguiſhed for his information and his attachment to the new conſtitution, anſwered me: "I am a Preſbyterian; but I muſt declare, that the Quakers excel all ſects in the qualities you mention." It is not that they are all pure and irreproachable; it is not that there are not ſome ſharpers among them. The reputation of the ſect, and the advantage that may be made of it, have naturally brought into it ſome hypocritical proſelytes and raſcals. A man would counterfeit a guinea rather than a halfpenny; but the Quakers are very ſtrict in expelling from their ſociety thoſe who are found guilty, I do not ſay of crimes, but of thoſe breaches of delicacy and probity, which the laws do not puniſh. The public is often ignorant of this excommunication; becauſe the excommunicated member continues to go to their public meetings on Sunday. He cannot be hindered from this; but he is never admitted to their monthly or quarterly meetings.

Mr.

Mr. Bingham, one of the moſt opulent citizens of Philadelphia, ſpoke of them to me in the higheſt praiſe. He ſaid, that they were extremely punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and that they never live beyond their income.

And this will explain the common ſaying, ſo often repeated at Philadelphia, that the Quakers are ſo cunning, that the Jews themſelves cannot live among them. Uſurious Jews can never live among economical men, who have no need of borrowing money at enormous intereſt; for a ſimilar reaſon, a ſeller of pork cannot live among Jews.

The Quakers have been accuſed of avarice; but the deſire of gain in a merchant, conſiſts in amaſſing wealth, in preſerving it, and in watching over his affairs with a conſtant attention. Such then is the crime of the Quakers. But in reproaching them with it, we ought to conſider attentively the circumſtances of that ſociety: their religious principles exclude them from all ambitious views, from all places and employments; they muſt then attend wholly to their induſtry, to the ſupport and eſtabliſhment of their children. They have, therefore, more need of amaſſing property than other citizens, who may find the means of placing their children in public offices, in the army, the navy, or the church.

Finally, the Quakers, having renounced the occupations of intrigue and of amuſements, muſt be occupied wholly in buſineſs; and conſequently appear more vigilant, that is, in the language of the lazy and diſſipated, *more avaricious*.

One of their detractors agrees, that the Quakers are virtuous; but does not allow them to rank in this reſpect above other ſects. He be-

lieves, that other ſects have produced men as perfect as this. I believe it as well as he: the image of Fenelon gives me as agreeable an impreſſion as that of Fothergill or Benezet. But I maintain,—1ſt, That the ſect of the Quakers, in proportion to their number, has produced more of theſe prodigies. 2d, That no ſect preſents to us a totality ſo perfect and harmonious, and an aſſemblage of men ſo pure and virtuous, or ſo conſtant a ſeries of great and good actions. To prove this laſt aſſertion, I will only call to your mind the emancipation of ſlaves, executed by them with unanimity, with the ſame ſpirit, and followed by numerous efforts to aboliſh ſlavery, and to meliorate and educate the blacks. Let any one cite to me in all other ſects a ſimilar inſtance of diſintereſtedneſs and humanity. Let a ſect be mentioned, which, like this, has made it a law never to take any part either in privateering, or in contraband trade, even in a foreign country; for they will not tempt a foreigner to violate the laws of his own country.

During the laſt war, the Quakers paſſed a reſolution, that whoever of their ſociety ſhould pay a debt in paper money (then depreciated) ſhould be excommunicated; while, at that time, it was a crime to doubt of the goodneſs of this paper; and the Quakers, like all other citizens, were obliged to receive it from their debtors at the nominal value.

A ſociety, ſimple in its manners, economical, and devoted principally to agriculture and commerce, muſt neceſſarily increaſe with great rapidity. Pennſylvania may be conſidered as the mother country of the Quakers, who form a majority of its population. They are numerous in

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the ſtates of New-York, New-Jerſey, Maryland, and Rhode-Iſland; ſome in New-Hampſhire and Maſſachuſetts. Many of the Quakers have planted their tabernacles in that delightful valley, which is waſhed by the Shenadore, beyond the firſt chain of mountains. They have no ſlaves; they employ negroes as hired ſervants, and have renounced the culture of tobacco: and this valley is obſerved as the beſt cultivated part of Virginia.

They have puſhed their ſettlements likewiſe into the two Carolinas and Georgia. They are beginning eſtabliſhments near the Ohio, and have a conſiderable one already at Redſtone, on the Monongahela.

It is to be wiſhed, for the happineſs of the Indians, and the peace of America, that all the planters of the frontiers poſſeſſed the pacific principles of the Quakers: a laſting union would ſoon be formed between them; and blood would no longer ſtain the furrows which American induſtry traces in the foreſts.

The religion of the Quakers is the ſimpleſt imaginable. It conſiſts in the voice of conſcience, the internal ſentiment, the divine inſtinct, which, in their opinion, God has imparted to every one. This inſtinct, this light, this grace, which every perſon brings into the world with him, appears to them the only guide neceſſary for the conduct of life. But to underſtand the guide, it is neceſſary to know it; to be known, it ſhould often be interrogated. Hence the neceſſity of frequent meditations.

The Quakers have been much ridiculed for their belief in this interior principle. For their calumniators, ſome of whom have called themſelves

ſelves philoſophers, are ignorant that this belief is not peculiar to the Quakers. We find it in a great number of ſages, who have merited the homage of mankind. With Pythagoras, it was the Eternal Word, the Great Light,—with Anaxagoras, the Divine Soul,—with Socrates, the Good Spirit, or Demon,—with Timeus, the Uncreated Principle,—with Hieron, the Author of Delight, the God within the Man,—with Plato, the eternal ineffable and perfect Principle of Truth,—with Zeno, the Creator and Father of all,—and with Plotinus, the Root of the Soul. When theſe philoſophers endeavoured to characterize the influence of this principle within us, they uſed correſpondent expreſſions. Hieron called it a domeſtic God, an internal God,—Socrates and Timeus, the Genius, or Angel,—Plotinus, the Divine Principle in Man,—and Plato, the Rule of the Soul, the Internal Guide, the Foundation of Virtue*.

Among the political principles of the Quakers, the moſt remarkable are, never to take an oath, and never to take arms. I ſhall ſpeak of the latter by itſelf; as to their refuſing to take an oath, it may be ſaid, that an oath adds no weight to the declaration of an honeſt man; and perjury has no terrors for a knave.

Their diſcipline is as ſimple as their doctrine. In their marriages, their births, and interments, they uſe only the forms neceſſary to verify the exiſtence of the fact.

* Briſſot, in ſome ſubſequent remarks, ſeems to conſider the Quakers as a ſpecies of deiſts; a reflection, which, we hope, does not attach to them as a body; but which opinion probably was one cauſe of the French philoſopher's partiality for their religion.

A Quaker cannot marry a perſon of another ſect. I aſked the reaſon of this; as it appeared to me a ſign of intolerance. "The preſervation of our ſociety," replied a Quaker, "depends on the preſervation of the cuſtoms which diſtinguiſh us from other men. This ſingularity forces us to be more honeſt; and if we ſhould unite our families with ſtrangers, who are not of our ſociety, individuals would ſwerve from our uſages, and confound them with others. A Quaker woman, who ſhould marry a Preſbyterian, ſubmits herſelf to the authority of a man over whom we have no influence; and the ſociety ſubſiſts only by this domeſtic, voluntary, and reciprocal influence."

This influence is directed by their different aſſemblies. The monthly aſſemblies are in general compoſed of ſeveral neighbouring congregations. Their functions are to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the poor, and the education of their children; to examine the new converts, and prove their morals; to ſuſtain the zeal and the religion of others; to hear and judge their faults by means of ſuperintendants appointed for this purpoſe; to decide and ſettle any diſpute that may ariſe either between Quakers, or between a Quaker and a ſtranger, provided the latter will ſubmit to their arbitrament. This laſt object is one of the moſt important; it prevents that cruel ſcourge, ſo ravaging in other countries, the ſcourge of lawyers, the ſource of ſo much corruption, and the cauſe of ſuch ſcandalous diviſions. This cuſtom muſt be of great advantage to ſtrangers who live in the neighbourhood of Quakers. The ſociety excommunicates a member who will not ſubmit to this arbitration.

Appeals are ſometimes carried from the monthly to the quarterly aſſemblies; the principal buſineſs of the latter, is to ſuperintend the operations of the former.

But the ſuperintendance of the whole ſociety belongs to the annual aſſemblies. Theſe receive reports from the inferior bodies, reſpecting the ſtate of all parts of the ſociety, give their advice, make regulations, judge definitively on the appeals from the lower aſſemblies, and write letters to each other, in order to maintain a fraternal correſpondence.

There are ſeven annual aſſemblies. One at London, to which the Quakers in Ireland ſend deputies; one in New-England, one at New-York, one for Pennſylvania and New Jerſey, one in Maryland, one in Virginia, one for the two Carolinas and Georgia.

As the Quakers believe that women may be called to the miniſtry as well as men, and as there are certain articles of diſcipline which only concern the women, and the obſervance of which can be ſuperintended only by them, they have likewiſe their monthly, quarterly, and annual meetings. But they have not the right to make regulations. This method is much more proper to maintain morals among women, than that of our Catholic confeſſors; which ſubjects the feeble ſex to the artifice, the fancies, and the empire of particular men; which opens the door to the moſt ſcandalous ſcenes, and often carries inquiſition and diſſenſion into the boſom of families.

The Quakers have no ſalaried prieſts; their miniſters are ſuch men as are the moſt remarkable for their zeal; they ſpeak the moſt frequent-

ly in their meetings; but all perſons, male and female, have an equal right to ſpeak whenever they feel an inclination.

Theſe miniſters, with ſome approved elders, hold monthly meetings, by themſelves, for their own inſtruction. In theſe meetings they reviſe, and order to be printed, ſuch works as they chuſe to have diſtributed; and they never fail to take ſuch meaſures, as that uſeful works ſhould be ſold at a low price.

In all theſe aſſemblies, ſome of which are very numerous, they have no preſident, and no perſon who has the leaſt authority. Yet the greateſt order and harmony are always obſerved. You never hear two perſons ſpeak at once in any of their moſt intereſting deliberations.

But what will ſurpriſe you more is, that, in their numerous aſſemblies, nothing is decided but by unanimity. Each member has a kind of ſuſpenſive negative. He has only to ſay, "I have not clearneſs;" the queſtion is then adjourned, and not decided till every member is agreed.

This uſage appears to me highly honourable to the ſociety; it proves a wonderful union among this band of brothers; it proves that the ſame ſpirit animates them, the ſpirit of reaſon, of truth, and of the public good. Deliberative aſſemblies in general, would not be ſubject to ſuch long and violent diſcuſſions, if, like the Quakers, they were diſengaged from all perſonal ambition, and if, to reſolve doubts, the members addreſſed themſelves only to the conſciences of men.

A thorough knowledge of the Quakers, is not to be obtained by going into one of their churches. Enter into their houſes; you will find them the abodes of peace, harmony, gentleneſs, and frugality;

gality; tenderneſs to children, humanity to ſervants. Go into their hoſpitals; you will there ſee the more touching effects of charity, in their unexampled cleanlineſs, in their aliments, in their beds, and in their ſcrupulous attentions. Viſit the aſylums of old age and decrepitude; you will find the cloth and linen of the poor, as decent as that of their benefactors. Each one has his chamber, and enjoys not only the neceſſaries, but many of the agreeables of life.

If you would quit the town, and run over the farms of the Quakers, you will diſcover a greater degree of neatneſs, order, and care, among theſe cultivators, than among any other. If you examine the interior organization of the ſociety, you will find, in every church, a treaſury for charity, containing more or leſs money, according to the wealth of the congregation. This is employed in aſſiſting young tradeſmen, in ſuccouring thoſe who have failed in buſineſs through misfortune, thoſe who have ſuffered by fire and other accidents. You will find many rich perſons among them, who make it a conſtant rule to give to this treaſury one-tenth of their revenue.

I am perſuaded, that, after having well examined this ſociety, under all theſe details, one would be ready to cry out, "if to-morrow I were reduced to poverty, and to be deſtitute of the ſuccour of my friends, God grant that I might finiſh my days in a Quaker hoſpital: if to-morrow I were to become a farmer, let me have members of this ſociety for my neighbours; they would inſtruct me by their example and advice, and they would never vex me with law-ſuits."

Theſe wiſe men, ſays Briſſot, have ſeen that the great baſis of univerſal happineſs muſt be univerſal peace; and that to open the way to that

peace,

peace, we muſt pronounce an anathema againſt the art of war. Sacred writings have taught us to believe, that the time will come, when nation ſhall no more lift the ſword againſt nation; and to lead to the accompliſhment of ſo conſoling a prophecy, this people believe that example is more powerful than words.

In Pennſylvania, they found the ſecret of defending themſelves from the ſcourge of military ſlaughter, till the war of 1755, between France and England. Though mingled with the Indians, never any quarrels roſe among them, which led to the ſpilling of blood.

The government of England could never engage the Quakers to give any aſſiſtance in this war. They not only refuſed this, but they reſigned all the places which they had held in the government of the colony; for it was before almoſt entirely in their hands; and ſuch was their economy, that the produce of the cuſtom-houſe, and a ſmall exciſe, were always ſufficient to defray the public expences; ſo that no other tax was known in the colony.

The war of 1755 changed this order of things, and occaſioned heavy expences, which the colonies were obliged to pay. The Quakers were ſubjected to them, as well as others; but they not only refuſed, as a ſociety, to pay taxes, of which war was the object, but they excommunicated thoſe who paid them. They perſevered in this practice in the laſt war.

At this time an animoſity was kindled againſt them, which is not yet extinguiſhed. Faithful to their principles, they declared, that they would take no part in this war, and they excommunicated all ſuch as joined either the American or the Britiſh army.

No

No perſon has ſpoken to me with more impartiality, reſpecting the Quakers, than General Waſhington, that celebrated man, whoſe ſpirit of juſtice is remarkable in every thing. He declared to me, that, in the courſe of the war, he had entertained an ill opinion of this ſociety; he knew but little of them; as at that time there were but few of that ſect in Virginia; and he had attributed to their political ſentiments, the effect of their religious principles. He told me, that having ſince known them better, he acquired an eſteem for them; and that, conſidering the ſimplicity of their manners, the purity of their morals, their exemplary economy, and their attachment to the conſtitution, he conſidered this ſociety as one of the beſt ſupports of the new government, which requires a great moderation, and a total baniſhment of luxury.

It was not under this point of view that they were regarded by the congreſs, which laid the foundation of American independence. This congreſs joined their perſecutors, and baniſhed ſome of their moſt noxious leaders to Staunton, in Virginia, two hundred miles from their families. Since the peace, they have been ſubjected to another kind of vexation. Each citizen, from ſixteen to fifty-five years of age, is obliged by law to ſerve in the militia, or to pay a fine*. The Quakers will not ſerve nor pay the fine. The collector, whoſe duty it is to levy it, enters their houſes, takes their furniture, and ſells it; and the Quakers peaceably ſubmit.

* If defenſive war is allowable, and every citizen is bound to aſſiſt the government that protects him, where is the hardſhip in a Quaker being compelled to make a compenſation for his perſonal ſervice, which he refuſes to grant?

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This method gives great encouragement to knavery. Collectors have been known to take goods to the amount of ſix times the fine, to ſell for a ſhilling what was worth a pound, never to return the ſurplus, nor even to pay the ſtate, but afterwards become bankrupts. Their ſucceſſors would then come and demand the fine already paid; but the Quakers have complained of theſe abuſes to the legiſlature, and an act is paſſed ſuſpending theſe collectors till September 1789.

It would be very eaſy to reconcile the wants of the ſtate, and the duty of the citizen, with the religious principles of the Quakers. You might ſubject them only to pacific taxes, and require them to pay a larger proportion of them. This is already done in Virginia, in aboliſhing, with reſpect to them, the militia ſervice.

On the 15th of November, 1788, I ſet out from Philadelphia for Wilmington, diſtance twenty-eight miles, and road tolerably good. The town of Cheſter, fifteen miles from Philadelphia, is a place where ſtrangers like to reſt. It ſtands on a creek, which falls into the Delaware. It enjoys ſome commerce, and the taverns here are good.

Wilmington is much more conſiderable; it ſtands likewiſe on a creek near the Delaware; the baſis of its commerce is the exportation of flour. One mile above Wilmington, you paſs the town of Brandywine; the name of which will call to your mind a famous battle gained by the Engliſh over the Americans, eight miles from this town, on a river of the ſame name. This town is celebrated for its fine mills; the moſt conſiderable of which is a paper mill, belonging to Mr. Gilpin and Myers Fiſher, that worthy orator and man of ſcience, whom I have often mentioned. Their proceſs in making pa-

per, especially in grinding the rags, is much more simple than ours. I have seen specimens of their paper, both for writing and printing, equal to the finest made in France.

Wilmington is a handsome town, well-built, and principally inhabited by Quakers. I have seen many respectable persons among them, particularly Dr. Way. The celebrated Mr. Dickinson, who resides here, was, unfortunately for me, out of town.

At nine miles from Wilmington, I past Christine-Bridge, a place of some commerce. From thence to the head of Elk, you see but few plantations, you run through eight miles of woods, only meeting with a few log-houses, when you arrive at Henderson's tavern, a very good inn, alone in the midst of vast forests. It is twenty-two miles from thence to the ferry of the Susquehannah. The town here is called Havre de Grace, a name given it by a Frenchman who laid the foundation of the town. It is at present an irregular mass, of about one hundred and fifty houses; but there is no doubt, when the entrance of the river shall be rendered navigable, but this will be an interesting situation, and a populous town. Here is a charming garden belonging to the proprietor of the ferry, from which I had a delicious prospect of that magnificent river; which in this place is more than a mile and a half wide, interspersed with islands.

From thence to Baltimore are reckoned sixty miles. The road in general is frightful, it is over a clay soil, full of deep ruts, always in the midst of forests; frequently obstructed by trees overset by the wind, which obliged us to seek a new passage among the woods. Both the drivers and

their horſes diſcover great ſkill and dexterity, being accuſtomed to theſe roads.

But why are they not repaired? Overſeers of the roads are indeed appointed, and fines are ſometimes pronounced on delinquencies of this kind; but they are ill collected. Every thing is here degraded; it is one of the effects of ſlavery. The ſlave works as little as poſſible; and the maſter, eager of vile enjoyments, finds other occupations than ſending his negroes to repair the roads.

Some vaſt fields of Indian corn, but bad cultivation, pale faces worn by the fever and ague, naked negroes and miſerable huts, are the moſt ſtriking images offered to the eye of the traveller in Maryland.

We arrived at Baltimore in the night; but I viewed this town on my return. It contains near two thouſand houſes; and fourteen thouſand inhabitants. It is irregularly built, and on land but little elevated above the ſurface of Patapſco Bay, on the north of which it forms a creſcent. The bay is not ſufficiently deep to receive the largeſt ſhips; they anchor near Fell's Point, two miles from the centre of the town. There are ſtill ſtagnant waters in the town; few of the ſtreets are paved; and the great quantities of mud after rain, announce that the air muſt be unhealthful; but aſk the inhabitants, and they will tell you, no. You may ſay here, like the Swiſs in the heat of a battle, "If you believe theſe people, nobody can die here!"

Baltimore was but a village before the war; but during that period, a conſiderable portion of the commerce of Philadelphia was removed to this place. The greateſt ſhips come as far as here, and can go no farther; vaſt quantities of

 proviſions

proviſions deſcend the Suſquehannah, and when that river ſhall be navigable, Baltimore muſt be a very conſiderable port.

The quarrel about federaliſm divided the town at the time I was in it; and the two parties almoſt came to blows on the election of their repreſentatives.

We left Baltimore, for Alexandria, at four in the morning; diſtant about ſixty miles, bad roads, a rude waggon, excellent horſes, ſkilful conductors, poor cultivation, miſerable huts, and miſerable negroes.

They ſhewed me a plantation belonging to a Quaker; there were no ſlaves upon it. I ſaw Bruſhtown, a new village that the ſtate of Maryland has pointed out for the ſeat of a college. This edifice is nearly completed; it is on an eminence, and enjoys a good air. We breakfaſted in this village, and dined at Bladenſbury, ſixteen miles from Alexandria. It is ſituated on a little river, which diſcharges into the Potowmack, and which admits bateaus of twenty or thirty tons. We could find nothing to drink, but brandy or rum mixed with water. In countries cultivated by ſlaves, there is no induſtry and no domeſtic economy. The people know not the advantage of making beer or cider on their farms.

George-town terminates the ſtate of Maryland: it overlooks the Potowmack, has an agreeable ſituation, and a conſiderable commerce. Regulations and impoſts, inconſiderately laid on commerce, by the ſtate of Virginia, have baniſhed to George-town a conſiderable part of the commerce of Alexandria.

This place is eight miles below George-town, on the oppoſite ſide of the Potowmack. Alexandria

dria has grown from nothing to its preſent ſize within theſe forty years. It is not, however, ſo conſiderable as Baltimore, which it ought to ſurpaſs. It is almoſt as irregular and as deſtitute of pavements. You ſee here a greater parade of luxury; but it is a miſerable luxury; ſervants with ſilk ſtockings in boots, women elegantly dreſſed, and their heads adorned with feathers.

The inhabitants, at the cloſe of the war, imagined that every natural circumſtance conſpired to render it a great commercial town, the ſalubrity of the air, the profundity of the river admitting the largeſt ſhips to anchor near the quay, an immenſe extent of back country, fertile and abounding in proviſions. They have therefore built on every ſide, commodious ſtore-houſes, and elegant wharfs; but commerce ſtill languiſhes, on account of impolitic reſtraints.

I haſtened to arrive at Mount Vernon, the ſeat of General Waſhington, ten miles below Alexandria, on the ſame river. On this route you traverſe a conſiderable wood, and after having paſſed over two hills, you diſcover a country houſe, of an elegant and majeſtic ſimplicity. It is preceded by graſs plats; on one ſide of the avenue are the ſtables, on the other a green-houſe, and houſes for a number of negro mechanics. In a ſpacious back yard are turkeys, geeſe, and other poultry. This houſe overlooks the Potowmack, enjoys an extenſive proſpect, has a large and elevated portico on the front next the river, and a convenient diſtribution of the apartments within.

The general came home in the evening, fatigued with having been to lay out a new road in ſome part of his plantations. He has often been compared to Cincinnatus: the compariſon is

doubtleſs juſt. This celebrated general is nothing more at preſent than a good farmer, conſtantly occupied in the care of his farm and the improvement of cultivation. He has lately built a barn, one hundred feet in length and conſiderably more in breadth, deſtined to receive the productions of his farm, and to ſhelter his cattle, horſes, aſſes, and mules. It is built on a plan ſent him by that famous Engliſh farmer, Arthur Young. But the general has much improved the plan. Though this building is of brick, it coſt but three hundred pounds; I am ſure in France it would have coſt three thouſand. He planted this year eleven hundred buſhels of potatoes. All this is new in Virginia, where they know not the uſe of barns, and where they lay up no proviſions for their cattle. His three hundred negroes are diſtributed in different log houſes, in different parts of his plantation, which in this neighbourhood conſiſts of ten thouſand acres. Colonel Humphreys aſſured me, that the general poſſeſſes, in different parts of the country, more than two hundred thouſand acres.

Every thing has an air of ſimplicity in his houſe; his table is good, but not oſtentatious; and no deviation is ſeen from regularity and domeſtic economy. Mrs. Waſhington ſuperintends the whole, and joins to the qualities of an excellent houſe-wife, that ſimple dignity which ought to characterize a woman, whoſe huſband has acted the greateſt part on the theatre of human affairs; while ſhe poſſeſſes that amenity, and manifeſts that attention to ſtrangers, which render hoſpitality ſo charming. The ſame virtues are conſpicuous in her intereſting niece; but unhappily ſhe appears not to enjoy good health.

M. de

Kirk del.

Owen sc.

Braddock's Interview with Gen. Washington.

M. de Chaſtelux has mingled too much of the brilliant in his portrait of General Waſhington. His eye beſpeaks great goodneſs of heart, manly ſenſe marks all his anſwers, and he ſometimes animates in converſation, but he has no characteriſtic features; which renders it difficult to ſeize him. He announces a profound diſcretion, and a great diffidence in himſelf; but at the ſame time, an unſhaken firmneſs of character, when once he has made his deciſion. His modeſty is aſtoniſhing to a Frenchman; he ſpeaks of the American war, and of his victories, as of things in which he had no direction.

He ſpoke to me of M. de la Fayette with the greateſt tenderneſs. He regarded him as his child; and foreſaw, with a joy mixed with inquietude, the part that this pupil was going to act in the approaching revolution of France. He could not predict, with clearneſs, the event of this revolution. If, on the one ſide, he acknowledges the ardour and enthuſiaſm of the French character; on the other, he ſaw an aſtoniſhing veneration for their ancient government, and for thoſe monarchs, whoſe inviolability appeared to him a ſtrange idea.

After paſſing three days in the houſe of this celebrated man, who loaded me with kindneſs, and gave me much information relative to the late war, and the preſent ſituation of the United States, I returned to Alexandria.

The Bay of Cheſapeak divides Maryland into two parts nearly equal. The weſtern diviſion is the moſt peopled. Numerous bays and navigable rivers render this ſtate ſingularly commodious for commerce. It would ſoon become extremely flouriſhing, if ſlavery were baniſhed from it, if a

more advantageous culture were fubftituted to that of tobacco, and if the ſpirit of the Catholic religion had not adulterated the taſte for order, regularity, and ſeverity of manners, which characterize the other ſects, and which have ſo great an influence in civil and political economy.

Cotton is cultivated in Maryland, as in Virginia: but little care is taken to perfect either its culture or its manufacture. You ſee excellent lands in theſe two ſtates; but they have very few good meadows; though theſe might be made in abundance. For want of attention and labour, the inhabitants make but little hay; and what they have, is not good. They likewiſe neglect the cultivation of potatoes, carrots, and turnips for their cattle, of which their neighbours of the north make great uſe. Their cattle are left without ſhelter in winter, and nouriſhed with the tops of Indian corn. Of conſequence, many of them die with cold and hunger; and thoſe that ſurvive the winter, are miſerably meagre.

They have much perfected in this country the Engliſh method of inoculation for the ſmall-pox. In the manner practiſed here, it is very little dangerous. General Waſhington aſſured me, that he makes it a practice to have all his negroes inoculated, and that he never loſt one in the operation. Whoever inoculates in Virginia, is obliged, by law, to give information to his neighbours within the ſpace of two miles.

The population augments every where in theſe ſtates, notwithſtanding the great emigration to the Ohio. The horſes of Virginia are, without contradiction, the fineſt in the country; but they bear double the price of thoſe in the northern ſtates. The practice of races, borrowed from the

Engliſh

Engliſh by the Virginians, is fallen into diſuſe. The places renowned for this buſineſs are all abandoned; and it is not a misfortune; they are places of gambling, drunkenneſs, and quarrels.

The general informed me, that he could perceive a great reformation in his countrymen in this reſpect; that they are leſs given to intoxication; that it is no longer faſhionable for a man to force his gueſts to drink, and to make it an honour to ſend them home drunk; that you hear no longer the taverns reſounding with thoſe noiſy parties formerly ſo frequent; that the ſeſſions of the courts of juſtice were no longer the theatres of gambling, inebriation and blood; and that the diſtinction of claſſes begins to diſappear.

The towns in Virginia are but ſmall; this may be ſaid even of Richmond with its *capitol*. This capitol turns the heads of the Virginians; they imagine, that from this, like the old Romans, they ſhall one day give law to the whole north.

There is a glaſs manufactory forty miles from Alexandria, which exported laſt year to the amount of ten thouſand pounds in glaſs; and notwithſtanding the general character of indolence in this ſtate, the famous canal of the Potowmack advances with rapidity. Crimes are more frequent in Virginia than in the northern ſtates.

Wherever you find luxury, and eſpecially a miſerable luxury, there proviſions, even of the firſt neceſſity, will be dear. I experienced this in Virginia. At a tavern there I paid a dollar for a ſupper, which in Pennſylvania would have coſt me two ſhillings, in Connecticut one. Porter, wine, and every article, bear an exceſſive price here.

Tobacco

Tobacco, ſo generally cultivated here, requires a ſtrong fertile ſoil, and an uninterrupted care in the tranſplanting, weeding, defending from inſects, cutting, curing, rolling and packing.

Nothing but a great crop, and the total abnegation of every comfort, to which the negroes are condemned, can compenſate the expences attending this production, before it arrives at the market. Thus in proportion as the good lands are exhauſted, and by the propagation of the principles of humanity, leſs hard labour is required of the ſlaves, this culture muſt decline. And thus you ſee already in Virginia fields incloſed, and meadows ſucceed to tobacco. Such is the ſyſtem of the proprietors who underſtand their intereſt; among whom I place General Waſhington, who has lately renounced the culture of this plant.

If the Virginians knew our wants, and what articles would be moſt profitable to them, they would pay great attention to the culture of cotton; the conſumption of which augments ſo prodigiouſly in Europe. I will not enlarge here on the ſubject of tobacco, which many authors have explained; but I will give ſome ideas on that kind of paper-currency called tobacco-money; the uſe of which proves, that nations need not give themſelves ſo much inquietude as they uſually do on the abſence of ſpecie. In a free and fertile country, the conſtant produce of the land may give a fixed value to any kind of repreſentative of property.

This ſtate has public magazines, where the tobacco is depoſited. Inſpectors are appointed to take charge of theſe magazines, and inſpect the quality of the tobacco; which, if merchantable, is received, and the proprietor is furniſhed with a

note

note for the quantity by him depoſited. This note circulates freely in the ſtate, according to the known value of the tobacco. The price is different, according to the place where it is inſpected. The following places are ranked according to the rigidity of the inſpection: Hanover-Court, Pittſburg, Richmond, Cabin-Point. When the tobacco is worth ſixteen ſhillings at Richmond, it is worth twenty-one at Hanover-Court. The tobacco travels to one place or the other, according to its quality; and if it is refuſed at all places, it is exported by contraband to the iſlands, or conſumed in the country. There are two cuttings in a year of this crop; the firſt only is preſented for inſpection, the ſecond conſumed in the country, or ſmuggled to the iſlands.

As Virginia produces about eighty thouſand hogſheads, there circulates in the ſtate about eight hundred thouſand pounds in theſe notes; this is the reaſon why the Virginians have not need of a great quantity of circulating ſpecie, nor of copper coin. The rapid circulation of this tobacco-money ſupplies their place.

This ſcarcity, however, of ſmall money ſubjects the people to great inconveniences, and has given riſe to a pernicious practice of cutting pieces of ſilver coin into halves and quarters; a ſource of many little knaveries. A perſon cuts a dollar into three pieces, keeps the middle piece, and paſſes the other two for half-dollars. The perſon who receives theſe without weighing, loſes the difference, and the one who takes them by weight, makes a fraudulent profit, by giving them again at their pretended value; and ſo the cheat goes round.

But

But, notwithſtanding this pitiful reſource of cutting the ſilver, ſociety ſuffers a real injury for want of a plentiful copper coin; it is calculated, that in the towns the ſmall expences of a family are doubled, on account of the impoſſibility of finding ſmall change. It ſhews a ſtriking want of order in the government, and increaſes the miſery of the poor. Though tobacco exhauſts the land to a prodigious degree, the proprietors take no pains to reſtore its vigour; they take what the ſoil will give, and abandon it, when it gives no longer. They like better to clear new lands, than to regenerate the old. Yet theſe abandoned lands would ſtill be fertile, if they were properly manured and cultivated. The Virginians take no tobacco in ſubſtance, either in the noſe or mouth; ſome of them ſmoke, but this practice is not ſo general among them as in the Carolinas.

The Americans wiſh for the free commerce of tobacco with France; and they complain much of the monopoly of the farmers-general. If this monopoly were removed, and the tobacco ſubjected only to a ſmall duty on importation into France, there is no doubt but that the Americans would make our country the ſtore-houſe of thoſe immenſe quantities with which they inundate Europe. At preſent it is carried chiefly to England; where about the tenth part is conſumed, and the reſt is exported. England pays the whole in her own merchandiſe. Judge then of the profit ſhe muſt draw from this exchange; then add the commiſſion, the money expended in England by a great number of Americans, whom this commerce leads thither, and the profits of other branches of buſineſs that are the conſequence of this.

The

The great conſumption of tobacco in all countries, and the prohibitive regulations of almoſt all governments, may engage the Americans to continue this culture; for as they can furniſh it at a low price, as they navigate at ſmall expence, as no people equals them in enterpriſe and induſtry, they may undertake to furniſh the whole earth.

This high price encourages a conſiderable contraband in Spain, though interdicted by the pains of death. The law is too rigid to be executed.

The tobacco of the Miſſiſſippi and the Ohio will, doubtleſs, one day furniſh the greater part of the conſumption of Spain as well as of France; which, if the ſyſtem of liberty ſhould be adopted, will become immenſe. For it is proved, by thoſe who know the ſecrets of the farm, that the conſumption of the latter amounts to more than thirty millions of pounds annually, inſtead of fifteen, as we have been commanded to believe.

I propoſed, on quitting Alexandria, to viſit that charming valley, waſhed by the Shenadore, of which Jefferſon and Crevecœur have given us ſo ſeducing a deſcription. From thence I intended to return by the vale of Lancaſter, and pay my reſpects to the virtuous Moravians. But the approaching revolution in France haſtening my return, I am obliged to content myſelf with giving ſome idea of that country where we have been invited to fix our tabernacles; and to borrow the obſervations of different travellers, who have this year obſerved, with great attention, the lands ſituated between the different chains of mountains, which ſeparate Virginia from the weſtern territory.

The valley of Shenadore, which lies between the South Mountain and the North, or Endleſs Mountain,

Mountain, is from thirty to forty miles wide; chalky bottom, a fertile ſoil, and a good air. This ſituation offers almoſt all the advantages of the weſtern country, without its inconveniences. It is almoſt in the centre of the United States, and has nothing to fear from foreign enemies. It lies between two conſiderable rivers, which fall into the Cheſapeak; and though the navigation of theſe rivers is interrupted for the preſent, yet there is no doubt, from the progreſs of the works on the Potowmack, that this inconvenience will ſoon be removed.

The price of lands here, as elſewhere, varies according to their quality; you may purchaſe at any price, from one to five guineas the acre, land of the ſame quality as in Pennſylvania from four to twenty guineas.

The average diſtance of theſe lands from commercial towns is as follows: fifty miles from George-town, about fifty miles from Alexandria, eighty or a hundred from Richmond and from Baltimore. But this part of the country is ſtill more inviting for its future proſpects. Of all the rivers that diſcharge into the Atlantic, the Patowmack offers the moſt direct communication with the rivers of the weſt. This circumſtance will make it one day the great channel of intercourſe for almoſt all the United States; and its ſituation renders it ſecure againſt being interrupted by war.

But to realize the advantages which the ſituation of this country ſeems to promiſe, requires a reformation of manners, and the baniſhment of luxury, which is more conſiderable here than in Pennſylvania. You muſt baniſh idleneſs and the love of the chace, which are deeply rooted in the

ſoul of the Virginians; and, above all things, you muſt baniſh ſlavery; which infallibly produces thoſe great ſcourges of ſociety, lazineſs and vice, in one claſs of men, uninduſtrious labour and degrading miſery in another. The view of this deforming wound of humanity, will diſcourage foreigners of ſenſibility from coming to this ſtate; while they have not to dread this diſguſting ſpectacle in Pennſylvania.

But it is in a country life, in America, that true happineſs is to be found by him who is wiſe enough to make it conſiſt in tranquillity of ſoul, in the enjoyment of himſelf, and of nature. What is the fatiguing agitation of our great cities, compared to this delicious calmneſs? The trees do not calumniate; they revile not their benefactors; men of the greateſt merit cannot always ſay this of their fellow-creatures.

I left Boſton the 2d of October, after dinner, with my worthy friend Mr. Barret; to whom I cannot pay too ſincere a tribute of praiſe for his amiable qualities, or of gratitude for the readineſs he has manifeſted on all occaſions in procuring me information on the objects of my reſearch. We ſlept at Salem, fifteen miles from Boſton; an excellent gravelly road, bordered with woods and meadows. This road paſſes the fine bridge of Malden, which I mentioned before, and the town of Linn remarkable for the manufacture of women's ſhoes. It is calculated that more than a hundred thouſand pairs are annually exported from this town. At Reading, not far from Linn, is a ſimilar manufacture of men's ſhoes.

Salem, like other great towns in America, has a printing preſs and a gazette. I read in this ga-

zette the discourse pronounced by M. D'Epremenil, when he was arrested in full parliament, in Paris. What an admirable invention is the press! it brings all nations acquainted with each other, and electrizes all men by the recital of actions, which thus become common to all.

It was cold, and we had a fire in a Franklin stove. These are common here, and those chimneys that have them not, rarely smoke. The mistress of the tavern was taking tea with her daughters; they invited us to partake of it with them. I repeat it, we have nothing like this in France. It is a general remark through all the United States: a tavern-keeper must be a respectable man, his daughters are well dress't, and have an air of decency and civility. We had good provisions, good beds, attentive servants; neither the servants nor the coachmen ask any money. It is an excellent practice; for this tax with us not only becomes insupportable, on account of the persecutions which it occasions; but it gives men an air of baseness, and accustoms to the servility of avarice. Salem has a considerable commerce to the islands, and a great activity of business by the cod fishery.

In passing to Beverly, we crossed another excellent wooden bridge. It is over a creek near a mile wide. The construction of this bridge, and the celerity with which it was built, give a lively idea of the activity and industry of the inhabitants of Massachusetts. It cost but three thousand pounds; the toll for a horse and carriage is eight pence; the opening in the middle for the passage of vessels, is of a simpler mechanism than that of Charles-town. On the road to

Beverly,

Beverly, I ſaw a flouriſhing manufacture of cotton.

At Londonderry, a town chiefly inhabited by Iriſh, is a conſiderable manufacture of linen. We dined at Newberry with Mr. Tracy, who formerly enjoyed a great fortune, and has ſince been reduced by the failure of different enterpriſes, particularly by a contract to furniſh maſts for the marine of France. The miſcarriage of this undertaking, was owing to his having employed agents, in procuring the firſt cargo, who deceived him, and ſent a parcel of refuſe maſts, that were fit only for fire-wood. In conſequence, the cargo was condemned, and ſold at Havre for two hundred and fifty pounds. Mr. Tracy lives retired; and with the conſolation of his reſpectable wife, ſupports his misfortunes with dignity and firmneſs.

Newberry would be one of the beſt ports in the United States, were it not for a dangerous bar at the entrance. The buſineſs of ſhip-building has much declined here. In the year 1772 ninety veſſels were built here, in 1788 only three. This town ſtands at the mouth of the fine river Marrimak, abounding in fiſh of different kinds.

Twenty-four miles of fine road brings you from Newberry to Portſmouth, the capital of New-Hampſhire. There is little appearance of activity in this town. A thin population, many houſes in ruins, women and children in rags; every thing announces decline. Yet there are elegant houſes and ſome commerce. Portſmouth is on the Piſcatuay, a rapid and deep river, which never freezes till four miles above the town. This was formerly one of the greateſt markets for ſhip timber. Colonel Wentworth, one of the

moſt intelligent and eſteemed citizens, was the agent of the Engliſh government and of the Eaſt India company for that article. This company is now renewing its demands for this timber. Every thing in this town is commerce and ſhip-building.

Preſident Langdon himſelf is a merchant; he is extremely well informed in every thing that concerns his country. At the time of the invaſion of General Burgoyne, he was the firſt to mount his horſe, and lead off his fellow citizens to fight him. He appears well perſuaded, as well as Colonel Wentworth, that the ſureſt road to the proſperity of their country, is the adoption of the new federal government.

We left Portſmouth on Sunday, and came to dine at Mr. Dalton's, five miles from Newberry, on the Mirrimak: this is one of the fineſt ſituations that can be imagined. It preſents an agreeable proſpect of ſeven leagues. This farm is extremely well arranged; I ſaw on it thirty cows, numbers of ſheep, &c. and a well furniſhed garden. Mr. Dalton occupies himſelf much in gardening, a thing generally neglected in America. He has fine grapes, apples, and pears; but he complains that children ſteal them.

Mr. Dalton received me with that frankneſs, which beſpeaks a man of worth and of talents; with that hoſpitality which is more general in Maſſachuſetts, and New-Hampſhire, than in the other ſtates.

The Americans are not accuſtomed to what we call grand feaſts; they treat ſtrangers as they treat themſelves every day, and they live well. They ſay they are not anxious to ſtarve themſelves the week, in order to gormandiſe on Sunday.

day. This trait will paint to you a people at their eaſe, who will not torment themſelves for ſhow.

Mr. Dalton's houſe preſented me with the image of a true patriarchal family, and of great domeſtic felicity; it is compoſed of four or five handſome young women, dreſt with decent ſimplicity, his amiable wife, and his venerable father of eighty years. This reſpectable old man preſerves a good memory, a good appetite, and takes habitual exerciſe. He has no wrinkles in his face, which ſeems to be a characteriſtic of American old age; at leaſt I have often obſerved it.

From Mr. Dalton's we came to Andover, where my companion preſented me to the reſpectable paſtor of the pariſh, Dr. Symmes, in whom I ſaw a true model of a miniſter of religion, purity of morals, ſimplicity in his manner of life, and gentleneſs of character. He cheers his ſolitude with a reſpectable wife, by whom he has had many children. And the cultivation of his farm occupies thoſe moments which are not neceſſarily devoted to ſtudy, and to the care of the ſouls committed to his charge.

According to Briſſot, the total amount of the debt of the United States is about eighty millions of dollars; a ſum, which he thinks they will be able gradually to liquidate. The expence of the federal government he calculates at five hundred and ſeven thouſand four hundred and eight dollars, excluſive of the intereſt of the debt. If any thing, ſays he, can give an idea of the high degree of proſperity, to which theſe confederated republics are making rapid ſtrides, it is the contemplation of their exportations and manufac-

tures. It is impoſſible to enumerate all the articles to which they have turned their attention; almoſt one-half of which were unknown before the war. Among the principle ones are ſhip-building, flour, rice, tobacco, manufactures in woollen, linen, hemp, and cotton; the fiſheries, oils, forges, and the different articles in iron and ſteel; inſtruments of agriculture, nails, leather, and the numerous objects in which they are employed; paper, paſteboard, parchment, printing, pot-aſh, pearl-aſh, hats of all qualities, ſhip-timber, and other wood of conſtruction; cabinet work, cordage, cables, carriages; works in braſs, copper, and lead; glaſs of different kinds; gunpowder, cheeſe, butter, calicoes, printed linen, indigo, furs, &c. Ship-building is one of the moſt profitable branches of buſineſs in America. They built ſhips here before the war; but they were not permitted to manufacture the articles neceſſary to equip them; every article is now made in the country. A fine ſhip, called the Maſſachuſetts, of eight hundred tons, belonging to Mr. Shaw, had its ſails and cordage wholly from the manufacture of Boſton; this ſingle eſtabliſhment gives already two thouſand yards of ſail-cloth a week.

Breweries augment every where, and take place of the fatal diſtilleries. There are no leſs than fourteen good breweries in Philadelphia. The infant woollen manufactory at Hartford, from September 1788 to September 1789, gave about five thouſand yards of cloth, ſome of which ſells at five dollars a yard; another at Watertown, in Maſſachuſetts, promiſes equal ſucceſs, and engages the farmers to multiply their ſheep.

Cotton

Cotton ſucceeds equally well. The ſpinning machines of Arkwright are well known here, and are made in the country.

Nature invites the Americans to the labours of the forge, by the profuſe manner in which ſhe has covered their ſoil with wood, and interſperſed it with metal and coals. Pennſylvania, New-Jerſey, and Delaware, make annually three hundred and fifty tons of ſteel, and ſix hundred tons of nails and nail rods. Theſe articles are already exported from America; as are machines for carding wool and cotton, particularly common cards, which are cheaper than the Engliſh, and of a ſuperior quality. In theſe three ſtates are ſixty-three paper-mills, which manufacture annually to the amount of two hundred and fifty thouſand dollars. The ſtate of Connecticut laſt year made five thouſand reams, which might be worth nine thouſand dollars.

The prodigious conſumption of all kinds of glaſs, multiplies the eſtabliſhment of glaſs works. The one on the Potowmack employs five hundred perſons. They have begun with ſucceſs, at Philadelphia, the printing of calicoes, cotton, and linen. Sugar refiners are increaſing every where. In Pennſylvania are twenty-one powder-mills, which are ſuppoſed to produce annually ſix hundred and twenty-five tons of gunpowder.

Among the principal articles of exportation, are wheat and flour. To form an idea of the augmentation of exports in the article of flour, take the following facts: Philadelphia exported in the year

1786	...	150,000 barrels,
1787	...	202,000
1788	...	220,000
1789	...	360,000

In

In their commerce to the East Indies, you may see displayed the enterprising spirit of the Americans; the first motive to it, was the hope of economizing in the price of East India goods, which they formerly imported from England, and this economy must be immense, if we judge of it by the great consumption of tea in America, and the high price it bears in England. In the year 1761, the English American colonies sent to England eighty-five thousand pounds sterling in Spanish dollars for this single article, and since that time the consumption of it has at least tripled.

Another motive which encouraged them to push this commerce, was the hope of being able to supply South America, the Spanish and other islands, and even the markets of Europe, with the goods of the east; and to obtain every where the preference, by the low price at which they might be afforded. And this project is not without some foundation. The nature of things invites the Americans to become the first carriers in the world. They build ships at two-thirds of the expence that they are built at in Europe: they navigate with less seamen, and at less expence, although they nourish their seamen better.

The productions of their country are more favourable to this commerce than those of Europe. They carry ginseng to China; plank, ship-timber, flour, and salted provisions to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the isles of France and Bourbon. They are not, therefore, obliged to export so great a proportion of specie as the Europeans, who have establishments in the east. They are not obliged, like them, to maintain, at an enormous expence, troops, forts, ships of war, governors, intendants, secretaries, clerks, of which the

price

price muſt be added to that of the articles of this commerce.

No ſea is impenetrable to the navigating genius of the Americans. You ſee their flag every where diſplayed; you ſee them exploring all iſlands, ſtudying their wants, and returning to ſupply them.

A ſloop from Albany, of ſixty tons and eleven men, had the courage to go to China. The Chineſe, on ſeeing her arrive, took her for the cutter of ſome large veſſel, and aſked where was the great ſhip? We are the great ſhip; anſwered they to the Chineſe; ſtupified at their hardineſs.

Our public papers vaunt the magnificence of the European nations, who make diſcoveries and voyages round the world: the Americans do the ſame thing; but they boaſt not of their exploits with ſo much emphaſis. In September, 1790, the ſhip Columbia, Captain Gray, ſailed to diſcover the north-weſt of this continent; this is his ſecond voyage round the world: the brig Hope has ſailed for the ſame object. Our papers have reſounded with the quarrels of the Engliſh and Spaniards for the commerce of Nootka Sound. The Americans make no quarrels; but they have already made a conſiderable commerce on the ſame coaſt in furs and peltry. They were there trading in the year 1789, in good intelligence with both parties. In the ſame year, no leſs than forty-four veſſels were ſent from the ſingle town of Boſton to the north-weſt of America, to India, and to China. They bound not their hopes here: they expect, one day, to open a communication more direct to Nootka Sound. It is probable that this place is not far from the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi; which the Americans will ſoon navi-

gate

gate to its ſource, when they ſhall begin to people Louiſiana and the interior of New Mexico*.

This will be a fortunate epoch to the human race, when there ſhall be a third great change in the routes of maritime commerce. The Cape of Good Hope will then loſe its reputation, and its afflux of commerce, as the Mediterranean had loſt it before. The paſſage which the free Americans are called upon to open, which is ſtill unknown, which however, is eaſy to eſtabliſh, and which will place the two oceans, the Atlantic and Pacific, in communication, is by the paſſage by the lake of Nicaragua. Nature ſo much favours this communication, which is deſtined to ſhorten the route to the Eaſt Indies, that the obſtinacy of the nation, which now poſſeſſes the country, cannot long withſtand its being opened. The Spaniards wiſh to monopolize every thing. The free Americans, on the contrary, ſeek the advantages of the great family of the human race.

I have not leiſure to deſcribe the new country of the weſt; which, though at preſent unknown to the Europeans, muſt, from the nature of things, very ſoon merit the attention of every commercial and manufacturing nation. I ſhall preſent only a general view of theſe aſtoniſhing ſettlements, and refer to another time the details which a ſpeculative philoſopher may be able to draw from them. At the foot of the Alleganies, whoſe ſummits, however, do not threaten the heavens, like thoſe of the Andes and the Alps, begins an immenſe plain, interſected with hills of a gentle

* We ſuſpect our author is a worſe geographer than he was a politician.

aſcent,

aſcent, and watered every where with ſtreams of all ſizes; the ſoil is from three to ſeven feet deep, and of an aſtoniſhing fertility: it is proper for every kind of culture, and it multiplies cattle almoſt without the care of man.

It is there that thoſe eſtabliſhments are formed, whoſe proſperity attracts ſo many emigrants; ſuch as Kentucky, Frankland, Cumberland, Holſton, Mutkingum, and Scioto.

The oldeſt and moſt flouriſhing of theſe is Kentucky, which began in 1775, had eight thouſand inhabitants in 1782, fifty thouſand in 1787, and ſeventy thouſand in 1790.

Cumberland, ſituated in the neighbourhood of Kentucky, contains eight thouſand inhabitants, Holſton five thouſand, and Frankland twenty-five thouſand.

On beholding the multiplication and happineſs of the human ſpecies in theſe rapid and proſperous ſettlements, and comparing them with the languor and debility of colonies formed by deſpots, how auguſt and venerable does the aſpect of liberty appear! Her power is equal to her will; ſhe commands, and foreſts are overturned, mountains ſink to cultivated plains, and nature prepares an aſylum for numerous generations; while the proud city of Palmyra periſhes with its haughty founder, and its ruins atteſt to the world that nothing is durable, but what is founded and foſtered by freedom. It appears that Kentucky will preſerve its advantage over the other ſettlements on the ſouth; its territory is more extenſive, its ſoil more fertile, and its inhabitants more numerous: it is ſituated on the Ohio, navigable at almoſt all ſeaſons, this laſt advantage is equally enjoyed by the two ſettlements, of which

I am

I am going to ſpeak. The eſtabliſhment at the Muſkingum was formed in 1788, by a number of emigrants from New-England, belonging to the Ohio company. The Muſkingum is a river which falls into the Ohio from the weſt. Theſe people have an excellent ſoil, and every proſpect of ſucceſs.

From theſe proprietors is formed another aſſociation, whoſe name is more known in France; it is that of the Scioto Company, a name taken from a river, which, after having traverſed the two millions of acres which they poſſeſs, falls into the Ohio.

This ſettlement would ſoon riſe to a high degree of proſperity, if the proper cautions were taken in the embarkation, and the neceſſary means employed to ſolace them, and to prepare them for a kind of life ſo different from that to which they are accuſtomed.

There is nothing to fear, that the danger from the ſavages will ever arreſt the ardour of the Americans for extending their ſettlements. They all expect that the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi becoming free, will ſoon open to them the markets of the iſlands, and the Spaniſh colonies, for the productions with which their country overflows. But the queſtion to be ſolved is, whether the Spaniards will open this navigation willingly, or whether the Americans will force it. A kind of negotiation has been carried on, without effect for four years; and it is ſuppoſed, that certain ſtates, fearing to loſe their inhabitants by emigration to the weſt, have, in concert with the Spaniſh miniſter, oppoſed it; and that this concert gave riſe to a propoſition, that Spain ſhould ſhut up the navigation for twenty-five years, on

condition

condition that the Americans ſhould have a free commerce with Spain. Virginia and Maryland, though they had more to fear from this emigration than the other ſtates, were oppoſed to this propoſition, as derogatory to the honour of the United States; and a majority of congreſs adopted the ſentiment.

A degree of diffidence, which the inhabitants of the weſt have ſhewn relative to the ſecret deſigns of congreſs, has induced many people to believe, that the union would not exiſt a long time between the old and new ſtates; and this probability of a rupture, they ſay, is ſtrengthened by ſome endeavours of the Engliſh in Canada, to attach the weſtern ſettlers to the Engliſh government.

But a number of reaſons determine me to believe, that the preſent union will for ever ſubſiſt. A great part of the property of the weſtern land belongs to the people of the eaſt; the unceaſing emigrations ſerve perpetually to ſtrengthen their connections; and as it is for the intereſt both of the eaſt and weſt, to open an extenſive commerce with South America, and to overleap the Miſſiſſippi; they muſt, and will, remain united for the accompliſhment of this object.

The weſtern inhabitants are convinced that this navigation cannot remain a long time cloſed. They are determined to open it by good will, or by force; and it would not be in the power of congreſs to moderate their ardour. Men, who are maſters of the Ohio and the Miſſiſſippi, cannot conceive that the inſolence of a handful of Spaniards can think of ſhutting rivers and ſeas againſt a hundred thouſand free Americans. The ſlighteſt quarrel will be ſufficient to throw them

into a flame; and if ever the Americans ſhall march towards New Orleans, it will infallibly fall into their hands. The Spaniards fear this moment; and it cannot be far off.

In order to avert the effects of this enterpriſing character of the free Americans, the Spaniſh government has adopted the pitiful project of attracting them to a ſettlement on the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi; and by granting to thoſe who ſhall eſtabliſh themſelves there, the excluſive right of trading to New Orleans. This colony is the firſt foundation of the conqueſt of Louiſiana, and of the civilization of Mexico and Peru.

How deſirable it is for the happineſs of the human race, that this communication ſhould extend! for cultivation and population here, will augment the proſperity of the manufacturing nations of Europe. The French and Spaniards, ſettled at the Natches, on the moſt fertile ſoil, have not, for a century, cultivated a ſingle acre; while the Americans, who have lately made a ſettlement there, have at preſent three thouſand farms, of four hundred acres each; which furniſh the greater part of the proviſions for New Orleans.

I tranſport myſelf ſometimes in imagination to the ſucceeding century. I ſee this whole extent of continent, from Canada to Quito, covered with cultivated fields, little villages, and country houſes. I ſee happineſs and induſtry, ſmiling ſide by ſide, beauty adorning the daughter of nature, liberty and morals diffuſed, and gentle tolerance taking place of the ferocious inquiſition. I ſee Mexicans, Peruvians, men of the United States, embracing each other, curſing tyrants, and bleſſing the reign of liberty, which leads to univerſal harmony. But the mines, the ſlaves, what

is to become of them? The mines will be closed, and the slaves will become the brothers of their masters.

Our speculators in Europe are far from imagining that two revolutions are preparing on this continent, which will totally overturn the ideas and the commerce of the old: the opening a canal of communication between the two oceans, and abandoning the mines of Peru. Let the imagination of the philosopher contemplate the consequences. They cannot but be happy for the human race.

Thus have we accompanied Brissot in his travels through the United States, sometimes with pleasure and sometimes with disgust. Blinded by preconceived opinions, which he was anxious to realize in France, and more a *modern* philosopher than a sound politician, he frequently introduces vague remarks, and praises or censures without judgment and without discrimination. Of this we think it necessary to warn our readers; though we have all along endeavoured to soften his deleterious principles, and to omit his chimeras. On the whole, however, his travels contain much information relative to the state of America.

END OF VOL. XIX.

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Mavor, William Fordyce, 1758-1837

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